Social Organization in La Guajira
(Organizacion Social en la Guajira)

by Virginia Gutierrez de Pineda

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INTRODUCTION

121 In accordance with the plan drawn up by the Instituto Etnológico Nacional de Colombia /National Institute of Ethnology of Colombia/ to present a complete monograph on some aspect of indigenous culture in each number of this review, and in order to continue the study presented in the previous issue on the Guajiro community which we visited in 1947 with the licentiates Roberto Pineda Giraldo and Milciades Chaves Ch. and Mrs. María Rose de Recasens, we here present the Organización Social en la Guajira /Social Organization in La Guajira/, a title which embraces some aspects of the manner in which the individual and his institutions function in this community.

We have wished to present not merely an interpretative study but rather a series of facts, as trustworthy as it was possible for them to be, arranged in the way we consider to be best, that is, starting with the individual as the primary cell in the social organization, from the moment of birth on through the most important stages of his life within the group, up to sickness and death, and ending with reference to law, that is, the institutions which govern life in society.

This plan, then, tends to give an objective view of the interrelations between the individual and his group and of the way in which each complement the other in making possible the communal life of the individuals as components of the family cells, the small social groups, and the total collectivity. We have therefore subdivided our work into the two essential parts mentioned above, taking the individual, that is, the average man in the community, as a basis, with his manner of living, his ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting when faced with the various problems and institutions which society has established. In brief, we have wished to present the individual as he confronts his environment. /xiv/

124 The research on which this treatise is based was carried out directly in the field, data being obtained from different

/xiv cont./

124 individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

114 We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magía en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

128 The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

56 It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the
182 longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

Commissary of La Guajira

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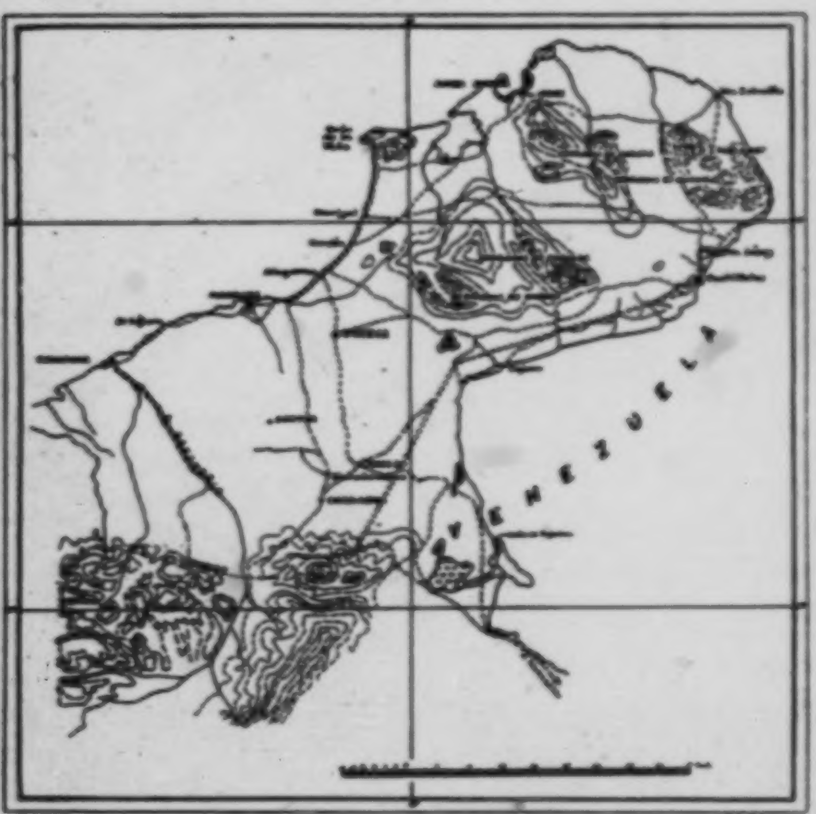

This map was made using that of Major Alberto Lara Santos in the Diccionario Geográfico de la Guajira /Geographical Dictionary of La Guajira/

[facing p. ii]

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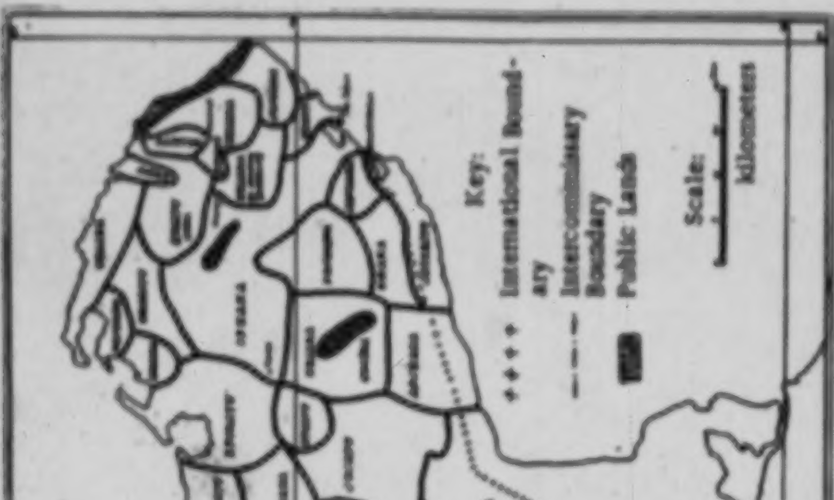
Distribution Map of Clan Lands
Key:
+ + + + International Boundary
— · — Intercommissary Boundary
Public Lands
Scale:
kilometers

[facing p. iii]

/xv cont./

58
182 -- the basis of the family -- that the individual makes contact with other family cells, with different clan groups, and, together, with the social group in general. It can be affirmed without fear of error that marriage is, both directly and indirectly, vitally important to the whole social organization of La Guajira, to its economic systems as well as to aspects of the spiritual life of the community, as in it one finds the security and stability of the clan group, the fundamental basis of La Guajira organization. On looking into certain aspects of customary law among these indigenous people, one can appreciate that this is effective only if the clan group which considers itself the injured party has sufficient power to enforce the required compensation payments, or indemnities; otherwise, the law will not function. And, as it is the clan and, in the final analysis, the small family group which has to stand up to aggressions against the code for individual and collective security, making itself in this way the true representative of the individual, one can gather how great is the importance of the institution of marriage in Guajiro life.

We do not wish to finish this introduction without recording our grateful appreciation to the director of the Instituto Etnológico Nacional, licentiate Luis Duque Gómez, for all the facilities he has put at our disposal in making this study and to our fellow expedition members, who at all times assisted us in the collection of data. We are also especially indebted to my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, whq supplied various reports obtained in the field for this study, and who at all times lent his collaboration in its ordering and presentation. /xvi/

I

PRENATAL CARE. BIRTH. CHILDREN.

852 Valuation of children. Every Guajiro family group endeavors to increase the number of its members as much as possible. As a consequence, every birth is acclaimed with happiness so that no newborn suffers from the problem that his arrival may not be welcomed by his parents or relatives. On the contrary, he will always find his place within the group, in which it is hoped that he will play his part adequately.

614 The fact is that the importance of any group depends on the number of its members, as it can be observed that, although some groups are economically strong, the relative scarcity of men causes the loss of directive positions and influence. Relations between clan groups are on a par when they are more or less matched in the number of their males, otherwise any problem pending between them will be decided in favor of the side where the greater influence of the men weighs more. In order to balance forces, the weak group must seek alliance with other groups.

628 554 Notwithstanding the general eagerness to increase numerically in order to keep the balance or a more just social situation throughout the peninsula, there are some groups that are not so inclined. These are those that have fallen into an inferior state which obliges them to be put at the margin of Guajiro life, where they end up suffering all kinds of injustice and ill-treatment from the others who, finding no force to withstand them, profit by this and, for any reason whatsoever, confiscate their property, deny them all rights, and burden them with demeaning situations like bond service. Such, in brief, is the lot of groups that have few male members and few economic resources. 628 554 852 This being so, as a sort of passive defense, the women refuse to conceive: They make use of every empirical recourse to limit maternity. They use herbs which are prescribed

614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[842] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become
weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with
which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know
beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave
them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose
disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or
civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice in-
flicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to
the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
593 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter
should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to
silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matri-
monial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband
will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing
that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient
power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives
are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate
women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutila-
tion. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups,
the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the repirsal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any
of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole
group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan
lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects.
For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to
die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

842 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of
its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis
of the valuation which each has in the society.

/3 cont./

592 The father hopes that his first-born will be a boy, as he [862] sees in him a future helper in herding tasks and a companion on long trips. The maternal family also desires that the first-born be a son because, although he does not hereafter increase the family, because of /the system of/ matrilinear descent, he does contribute to its prestige, as on the number of males depends the family prestige and influence, since it is they who represent it in situations of conflict with other groups and who, because of this prestige, make it possible for their relatives to live a more peaceful life by checking the misbehavior of members of other groups with the women of their group, maintaining the peaceful equilibrium of the conjugal life and preserving a mutual respect for the rights and duties of both sides.

Furthermore, on their importance depends, indirectly, the maintenance of their womenfolks' social standing, as no other Guajiro /3/ would become involved in acts of violation or seduction against them for fear of reprisal. Their daughters, rather, will be bought by men of their own social rank, which would eliminate the possibility of their being lowered. Also, should a relative die, the indemnity is more certain, for fear that the group might impose payment and justice by its own might.

However, the male members always present difficulties. The women of the group are always bound by the conduct of the men, for whatever illegal act is committed against another group affects them directly as reprisals are directed against them. On the other hand, when it becomes known that the men [578] are foregathering, the women must be near-by, because the men overindulge in rum and under its influence become aggressive and give free rein to their dislikes and hatreds. The women's role then is to try to keep arguments from degenerating into wrangling and bloodshed by endeavoring prudently to patch up such difficulties as they develop.

[593] Furthermore, although it is true that male economic help is the greater in cases where the group requires mutual

/3 cont./

[illegible] [illegible] co-operation, it is also true that their marriages demand heavy disbursements from everyone, not only in animals but in jewelry -- gold ornaments -- which a man's female relatives give him to be handed over to his future wife as a sign of the engagement. Also, the children of a man's marriage are not his in our sense of the word, so that in spite of the expense borne by the family, it does not become strengthened by the increase. All the children belong to the maternal family group according to Guajiro law.

[illegible] The wife concurs with her husband in hoping that her first child will be a son but thereafter hopes for a large family of girls, who will enrich and increase the family group to which they belong with children and marriage payments, for a woman [illegible] in Guajiro society has no less importance than a man, as it is she who transmits relationship and, therefore, increases with her offspring the number of consanguineous relatives. In the woman rest the hopes of her relatives for indemnification for the care they gave her in her youth and the maintenance of her social rank, because, on being bought, the eldest daughter indemnifies her father and his family for the expenses they had in livestock and ornaments in buying her mother. The others, with their marriage payments, increase the maternal income and, to a certain extent, augment with this sum the economic backing for future children and for the support of the husband, and form a nest egg to help should any difficult situation of their own or of their family /4/ arise. Moreover, as women have lately been [illegible] improving the technique of their handwork by the instruction they receive in the Capuchin mission, and these articles are readily sold in the markets of the interior as well as in the neighboring markets of Valledupar and Maracaibo, the woman really constitutes an important economic force that helps to overcome the precarious financial situation in the home, which is aggravated by the intensely hot summers which do not permit all-season agricultural activity and weaken the livestock. With the revenue so obtained she supports her husband, feeds and clothes herself, her children, and her close relatives.

/4 cont./

593 [illegible] At the present time the family concept of the woman is changing because of the conduct of mestizo and even pure Indian women brought about by changes in their economic situation and by contact with whites. Gradually, the traditional organization of the marriage payment and fidelity based on the payment is being broken down, because it is the women themselves and not their relatives who receive the payment, and for their [579] activities as prostitutes. The phenomenon is noted not only in the centers of the interior which have contacts with whites and Negroes -- principally traders and civil authorities -- but also and especially in Maracaibo and some of the towns in the department of Magdalena, to which they have been obliged to emigrate. However, they maintain the family concept of mutual assistance and share their income with their close relatives, not as before in the form of the marriage payment but as income earned in the sex market.

843 Prenatal care and birth. A woman learns that she is pregnant when she feels a loss of appetite and repugnance for food. The later disappearance of the menstrual period confirms the suspicion, and she immediately sees to it that her husband is informed of the event, so that he may know of his coming fatherhood. Also, in the case where she has had extramarital relations [837] in the absence of the husband, the woman, when she feels these early symptoms of pregnancy, goes in search of him, cohabits with him, and later can tell him of her condition, thus avoiding possible later suspicions. From the time of the ending of the first menstrual period, she begins to count the months, and she expects delivery after the eighth month.

Before the arrival of a child, the woman complies with established rules intended to avoid a lengthy and difficult delivery as well as to safeguard the new arrival from sickness which would affect his normal mental and physical well-being. Included in these prescriptions are to be found some of useful and practical value and others with a marked magic aspect. These magic observances generally affect both parents, although some only refer to the woman, /5/ others exclusively to the man (1).

1:Gutierrez de Pineda - 4 2-1 (1967) 1950 SC13 Guajiro SC13

/8 cont./

843 1. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto.
Aspectos de la magia en la Guajira
/Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/,
Revista del Instituto Etnológico
Nal., Vol. III, No. 1, 1947.
Bogotá, 1950.

[illegible] For example, the mother must not eat food that has been tasted [illegible] by an animal, for if she does her child will develop stomach trouble and will perform its natural functions in the manner of that animal. Neither the man nor the woman should watch a snake in its hole nor should the man kill it, because if he does the mother's labor will be long and difficult. The mother-to-be should never attend a primary or secondary burial nor the man dig a grave, as this also may bring on a long and difficult delivery in addition to the child's suffering serious illness, etc.

865 During the period of pregnancy, the husband avoids irritating his wife and satisfies her wishes or desires, because otherwise his child may be born, for example, with a clinched expression of anxiety on his face. However much she should contradict him, he should not make use of his authority or beat her, in deference to her condition and also because such conduct would bring grave consequences, for should the wife lose her child through ill-treatment, the responsibility would fall on him and his assets, and he would have to make payment to his wife in compensation for the injury caused. However, there are Guajiro who beat their wives when they are with child, when they know them to be of such low social standing that their relatives will not have sufficient power to assert their rights.

The Guajiro believes that certain actions which influence the psyche of the pregnant woman will have a physical repercussion on the coming infant. This is one of the reasons why the husband takes care to safeguard his wife and please her, avoiding causing her annoyance, scolding her, or ill-treating her. However, among these beliefs there are some which serve to solve satisfactorily certain problems which may arise from the breaking

/5 cont./

843 of social norms. In La Guajira, for example, adultery is at present very commonly practiced with whites and Negroes, and so to explain the appearance of children of a different color or of features distinct from Indian ones, the Guajiro woman appeals to the following belief: If a pregnant woman should receive a shock due to the sudden appearance of some person, her child will be born the color of that person.

We have already seen that if during her pregnancy a mother experiences an intense desire to possess some object and is not able to find it and satisfy her with, the child will be born with the anxious facial expression of the mother and later will cry continually for no apparent reason. In these beliefs the Indian also sees the explanation of the birth of twins and of abnormal children. By the same token, the husband's duty is to prevent such impressions on the /6/ future mother, because a strong feeling of fear during the first months of pregnancy may cause her to have twins, or the impression made on her by an animal or by a physically defective person may cause her to give birth to an abnormal child. This imposes an obligation on the man when on the road to walk ahead in order to warn his wife of the presence of any such phenomena, so that she may avoid seeing them.

Another set of precautions are observed by the woman to prevent her delivery being long and painful. Among these we may name the following:

During her pregnancy she makes use of a special kind of herb which is found wild on the banks of streams and in the mountains, grinding it carefully to make a soft paste with which, from the fifth month onward until her delivery, she massages her stomach every day at dawn, leaving the juice of the herb on her skin throughout the day. When she wishes to make the treatment more effective, she applies the paste from the third month. The infant whose mother has undergone this treatment is born normal but is so reduced in size and weight that he resembles a fetus of four months. Thus the delivery is extremely easy and rapid. Infants who have been subjected to this kind of prenatal treatment are not born sickly or with nervous defects.

/6 cont./

843 They are normal although extremely small and undernourished. As the months pass, such an infant gradually recovers from the prenatal treatment and toward the end of the third year reaches normal size and acquires the usual physical characteristics of a child of ordinary type.

The Guajiro mother does not like to adopt this treatment, but she will make use of it when in previous cases she has had a difficult delivery. She is proud of the large size and robustness of her children, and it is a cause of pleasure to her when they [262] are admired. It is more usual for her to employ another group of practices, dietetic ones, such as those which advise abstaining from eating cheese, butter at meals, or fat meat, adding milk to corn mazamorra, and drinking large quantities of water daily before eating, during the entire pregnancy, in order to prevent the too active growth of the fetus and to have, as a result, a less difficult delivery.

The practices we have been describing are also recommended to keep the woman from developing to an exaggerated size which would hinder her movements both in carrying out her domestic duties and in the long distances she has to walk.

843 During the final months of pregnancy, she abstains from 784 sexual relations, both by her own wish and that of her husband, in the belief that /7/ they would cause the child to be born [834] sickly and the delivery to be prolonged, possibilities which are their main concern and the avoidance of which justifies the practice of any treatment that prevents them. Also, during the final months of her pregnancy, the woman is prohibited, within practical limits, from lifting heavy things, carrying water from wells and loads of seeds, carting firewood, or loading burros. But only women of outstanding economic position who have female bond servants and slaves to carry out such chores are able to observe these precautions. It is not rare, therefore, to find that the Guajiro woman is obliged to do her daily work to the detriment of her condition, for after one of these exertions, a woman is liable to suffer an immediate miscarriage.

/7 cont./

843 278 Sometimes a woman who knows that her delivery is likely to be difficult takes various herbs, which she buys from the women of the Sierra de Jarara, who understand their curative properties, or gets someone to obtain them from the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ Indians, to whom they frequently go in search of medical remedies.

844 278 At the time that labor pains begin, the woman takes infusions of various herbs which her relatives have previously obtained. With these the delivery progresses rapidly, and the birth occurs quickly and successfully. Also during delivery she takes one or more doses of the juice of the herb which serves to reduce the size of the fetus.

842 278 Once the child is born and in case the placenta is delayed, the woman drinks the juice from the pulp of a pumpkin (Crescecia Cujeta) and that of a new /nueva/ herb with the purpose, once the delivery has occurred, of preventing an early recurrence of pregnancy once sexual life is renewed. This has the property of preventing conception for a period up to four years when taken in larger than normal dosage.

844 If the herbal remedies do not produce the hoped-for result, the woman's relatives with her assistance recapitulate the taboos that were possibly violated during the months of pregnancy by her, by her husband, or by both, and they endeavor to make some sort of reparation. Thus, for example, if she had seen a snake in its hole or if her husband had killed it, or if she had looked fixedly at it and had not complied with the precept to step over it to arrest its baleful influence, as is their belief, her relatives go in search of a snake of the same species, which they kill and bring to place on the abdomen of the woman in labor, after which the delivery is successfully accomplished. Should they find that the husband was hunting with firearms or had simply fired a gun, they proceed to wash /8/ the barrel of the firearm in question and give this water to the woman to drink. With this the delivery is quickly completed.

/8 cont./

851 Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the
[534 single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied
535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[273] The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) is prepared and is served liberally. [541] Apart from the dancing there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

[431] In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. [428] The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

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431
603 The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

/8 cont./

851 431 [603] sheep, fowl. The maternal grandfather has a similar obligation, and he is expected to give as much as the other. It is customary for the most notable /connotado/ maternal uncle to show his affection and recognition of his nephew -- his veritable son -- by making him a special gift of heads of livestock. /9/

In addition, the female neighbors and friends of the mother come to visit her, and they do not fail to bring some present for the new infant, such as balls of thread to make his hammock, his swaddling clothes, etc.

With the livestock received at his birth the child starts his capital. His animals are cared for by his father, together with those belonging to the mother, or by the most outstanding maternal uncle who has shown most affection for his nephew activities until the boy becomes capable of looking after his own interests.

* * *

766 The death of the first-born child is an event of outstanding importance because of the consequences it may bring about. This is one of the reasons why the father is greatly concerned about the first pregnancy of his wife and why he endeavors to take her to the home of her relatives in order that her child may be born there, placing on them the responsibility he seeks to avoid. This is cause enough for later births not to be attended by the maternal relatives, and in the long run the woman may have to give birth alone through force of circumstances.

The wife and her relatives acknowledge responsibility for the first-born's death and not only for his death as such but also as it may bear upon the birth of future children. When the first-born dies he is placed in a clay pitcher head downward, covered with the base of a new clay jar, and buried in the woods, not in the clan cemetery but certainly in land belonging to his family, at the foot of a pole called huruwá, so that the other children to be born will not also die. All ceremonies usual at

/9 cont./
766 the time of other deaths are suppressed, and the eldest maternal
uncle takes charge of the burial. Neither the father nor the
mother may see the dead child nor assist at the burial, so as to
avoid the death of future children.

The first-born having died and the burial requirements
766 having been complied with, the mother must submit, if she
881 wishes to prevent the death of her other children, to a special
845 treatment which is practically a repetition of the ceremonies
and the regimen to which she was subjected at her initiation on
reaching puberty. Apparently it is believed that she did not
fully comply on that occasion with the customary rites and
prescriptions meant to convert her into an adult woman with all
the functions attached to that state. It is to this fault that the
Guajiro appears to attribute the death of the first-born.

766 The mother is suspended for three days in a hammock near
the ridgepole of the house. She remains there fasting, covered
881 with a cloth so as not to /10/ to be seen. Let down at the end
of this interval, she takes some *bija* /*achiote*, or seeds of the
annatto tree/ as her first food and thin corn *mazamorra*; a female
uterine relative takes care of her, probably more strictly
than during her seclusion at puberty, and she stays for five months
in an outbuilding adjoining the household or in a room where she
cannot be seen except by other women, speaks softly, submits
to a nourishing diet, and is deprived of sexual contact with her
husband. Also, the process of fattening with the root of *hawapi*
is repeated as well as the use of herbs to delay the reappearance
of menstruation. After this seclusion she returns to her husband's
side and takes up her marital life.

766 If another child should have the same fate as the first, the
usual burial ceremony takes place: a wake is organized, and
animals are distributed as in the case of the death of an adult,
the animals being supplied by the maternal and paternal grandparents.
The tradition norms having been complied with, the
dead child is buried in the cemetery of his ancestors. The
mother is given special treatment by the professional herbalists,

/10 cont./

766 but seclusion is not repeated, as the death of children is now attributed to diverse causes, some magic and some natural. Once these causes are eliminated, the native believes he has solved the problem.

845 Birth of twins. The reasons the Guajiro cites to explain the birth of twins have a distinct magic character. Although it is not considered as a foreshadowing of lamentable happenings, it is recognized as a heavy burden, especially when the mother has insufficient means or when the number of children is already large. However, there is never any attempt whatever to end the life of twins when they arrive. They rear them in the best way possible following the same customary regimen used for other children and overcoming difficulties as much as possible.

The reasons the Guajiro gives to explain the birth of twins are the following: During the early months of pregnancy, and especially in the first month, the mother has suffered some very intense emotion on being startled by someone or on receiving some unexpected bad news, etc.; or also she may have mocked some other woman who had borne twins, or, worse still, having been able to assist the other woman and having been asked to help as a wet nurse (the mother being unable to feed her young ones), she refused.

853 Feeding and clothing the baby. The newborn child is not fed until three days after birth, when the milk appears in the mother's breasts, an appearance which varies but is generally within the term of three days. However, this custom is frequently not observed even /11/ on the first day due to insinuations of the family or the midwife when the child appears to be extremely hungry.

The child is not suckled at regular intervals, if by this is meant fixed hours which the mother or wet nurse must hold to. The mother feeds the child when he asks by crying or by demanding by word of mouth, according to his age, and also in order to comfort him when he is hurt or in pain, and when she wishes him to go off to sleep. Only a few mestizos, because

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853 of white education or medical prescription, try to regulate the feeding of their children, but they break the rule frequently, lengthening or shortening the interval in accordance with the appetite of the child and guiding themselves by the position of the sun. [805]

The child has his first meal of the day approximately at three o'clock in the morning, the time that the Guajiro begins his daily work, the last meal at bedtime. [512] At this latter meal the child nurses until, either satiated or sleeping, he lets go of his mother's breast. However, every Guajiro mother habitually feeds her child during the night if he wakes up and cries.

The mother feeds her child herself unless abnormal circumstances prevent this. If the milk completely satisfies the child in quantity and quality, the mother does not add other food, nor does she substitute it during the first six to eight months. 862 From then onward she adds to his diet thin corn mazamorra with a little milk, preferably goat's milk, oat soup, milk, and, much later, cheese and meat. If the mother's milk begins to fail soon after the child's birth, she endeavors to supplement this lack by other suitable food such as sweetened mazamorra or simple dishes of rice meal, mixed with goat's milk, later this same milk alone, until she gradually weans her child to adult food, going through the process just outlined. She also tries to reserve her own milk to give to the child during the night and so avoid having to prepare food during the hours of rest. The first meal at dawn, however, may be a prepared one, as the Guajiro mother, as we have already stated, is an early riser in order to take advantage of the cooler hours of the day to do her work. Before weaning, if the mother's milk supply keeps up, the child learns to eat other foods such as cow's milk and goats milk, corn griddlecake, bread -- if it is to be had, mazamorra, and fruit such as the iguaraya, mamoncillo /honey berry/, olive, and mango. When the child begins to sit up, the mother holds him in her arms during mealtime and gives him bites of food. The child learns to want and ask for food. Thus once he is weaned,

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862 the child is organically ready to assimilate adult food. This gradual method is much easier than when /12/ the mother, because of scarcity of her milk toward the sixth month or from special circumstances, is forced to do it.

Weaning age varies in accordance with the wish of the mother and the special circumstances which may require it. The general custom is to breast feed up to three years, but one finds mothers who nurse their children up to a year, others up to two, and it is not at all rare to find some who do so until after the third year.

The usual causes which influence the Guajiro mother to stop nursing her child are: a) A new pregnancy, because the majority of the mothers believe that the milk then produced has a bad effect on the nursing child as well as on the coming one. Nevertheless, there are exceptions to this custom in addition to the fact that the child may be returned to the breast when the mother has delivered the new infant. But these are special cases. However, it must be taken into account that pregnancies among the Guajiro do not occur rapidly one after the other, owing to the knowledge of contraceptives of which we have already spoken, which allows the mothers a long period of breast feeding for their children. It should also be noted that the Guajiro mother never tells the child that her ceasing to breast feed him is due to the arrival of another baby, so that, it appears to us, such a possibly pernicious insinuation does not influence the child's future behavior. b) Long trips which the mother must make on which she cannot be accompanied by her small child. When the child is somewhat older, she uses her absence as an opportunity to wean him, but if he is still young she is forced by circumstances to do it.

Weaning methods are personal and depend on the wishes or ideas of the mother or on the circumstances of the moment, but they can be grouped into several categrories: a) Sudden weaning, when the mother has to go away. b) When the mother's milk is scarce she supplements breast feeding with other food.

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862 In this way the replacement is gradual without organic or other complications for the child. c) When breast feeding is kept on overlong and the child is already eating normally and assimilating adult food, the breast is then simply a diversion that is, at times, voluntarily abandoned by the child. In this category may be included the younger children, or sharẽ, who considerably prolong the period of breast feeding. d) Very exceptionally it may happen that the mother gets annoyed with her child for biting her nipple and as punishment takes it away, but this punishment occurs only when the child is big, as logically, when the child is small, he cannot so bite.

[824] When the mother is not able to travel, in order to deprive the child she wants to wean, or when it will not take a refusal, she rubs her nipple with the sour juice of a plant called wawã and offers her breast to the child, who /13/ on tasting it cries and rejects it. This practice is repeated several times until the child refuses to respond when the breast is offered. This step is taken when the child is two or three years old and it is considered shameful to continue breast feeding so long, or when the child is small and special circumstances oblige the mother to act in this way.

[415 177] When the child starts to take other food as a substitute for his mother's milk, she feeds him liquids from a vessel made from a gourd /totuma/ (1) which she holds, at the same time training him to hold it also so that he can learn to feed himself; she gives him soup from a spoon, and she puts solid food into his hand. When he is very small she gives him lukewarm food, but later she gives it to him at the temperature it comes from the hearth, warning him to be careful. At two years the child is self-sufficient in these matters.

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1. At present, some use nursing bottles.

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862 At the stage when the child is too young to feed himself, it is usually the mother who feeds him or one of the relatives (aunt, grandmother, or siblings). Also, he may be helped by female servants entrusted to look after him, who coach him so that he may learn to feed himself.

827 853 755 If, after the delivery and before the milk appears, the woman should have inflamed and painful breasts, the husband must place his bare foot on them for a short time in order to make the swelling disappear. When the milk is delayed, they beat the shoulders of the mother with a herb which has the property of producing a milky substance in abundance. Quick and safe results are also obtained by using an infusion of *vira-vira*.

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853 The Guajiro mother may be obliged to ask for assistance in the natural feeding of her child: a) when, after delivery, for some pathological reason she cannot feed him because her milk has dried up; b) because she has previously lost several children of a very early age due to gastroenteritis, which is attributed to nutritive deficiency in her milk or to something in it which makes it unhealthy; c) when she has had twins, and she feels unable to feed both children; d) when the mother's milk suddenly begins to become scarce while the child is very small.

In such circumstances she looks for a wet nurse, not because she refuses to feed the child since, as far as we were able to find out, the mother wants to do it herself and considers her maternity frustrated when circumstances force her to find another mother to substitute for her, but because necessity drives her to do so in order to save the child from starvation and death. Apart from the /14/ loving care and the pleasure she feels in fulfilling this function, there are various reasons which induce her to feed her child naturally: Scarcity of milk in a poor mother involves a hardship in rearing the child as she does not always have goat's milk (the best milk in their opinion) available, and

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853 she runs up against the difficulty of accustoming the child to this kind of food, which may cause its death; furthermore, a wet nurse is often out of the question, for unless she is a relative who will do it without charge, it is almost impossible for a poor woman to meet the cost. For this reason the arrival of twins in a poor family is a hard blow, but in these circumstances every Guajiro woman whose services as wet nurse are solicited will consent, as she believes that a refusal would involve her in a double delivery in the future.

Thus, recourse to a wet nurse is limited to mothers with economic resources, who obtain the services of one with a child of an age approximately the same as their own and bring her into the home. The wet nurse receives a payment which has
[465] been agreed upon beforehand, either in money, clothes, or animals, as well as her food, in which the mother takes special interest for the benefit of her own child, as also her clothes, which the mother also supplies. The wet-nurse's child is usually left with her relatives, who feed him by bottle on goat's milk, *mazamorra*, and other food which substitute for the mother's breast, and even if he stays with his mother, he is weaned in order to give a greater amount of breast milk to the other child. Sometimes he is given the breast, but the child of the house in which the mother serves is always given preference. His sustenance, in this case, is included in the payment agreed on.

Generally, the wet nurse engaged by a Guajiro wife is of lower social standing, and she gives her services in exchange for the personal advantages that accrue, since her situation in the house is good for the reasons mentioned, and her standing in the family collectivity is improved; because in a certain physical sense she is comparable with the mother, as on her depends the rearing and the health of the child. This establishes a link and a mutual relationship between them, and the wet nurse acquires a certain superiority as well as a physical bond with the child whom she nourishes. By this, if she is a slave, her position is eased and improved, and she gains in consideration and status. The same conditions apply if she is a bond servant.

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853 Wet nurses can be classed in four groups: 1. The relative who gives her services voluntarily and gratuitously, with the idea of mutual aid /within the family/. The mother feels, however, the moral obligation to repay her for the help given in her time of need, and this she does by taking food and /15/ presents to her relative's house. The child may be taken to the home of the wet nurse or stay in its own if the nurse lives in the same place as the mother. This is the only recourse for the poorer Guajiro woman when confronted with the problem of having given birth to twins or being unable to nurse her own child.
2. A voluntary wet nurse obtained from among friends and neighbors, whose recompense is similar to that in the previous case. This action serves to improve friendship, and the favor given remains a personal debt which should be repaid by the mother when the /volunteer/ wet nurse finds herself in a similar situation. The child is taken to the home of the wet nurse.
3. The paid wet nurse, of whom we have already spoken, whose fee obliges her to give efficient service, even to the point of weaning her own child. She must also act as nursemaid, which requires her to leave her own child in the home of her relatives.
4. The wet nurse who is not free, that is to say, one who is a bond servant or slave and who, being in the necessary condition, is ordered by her masters to give this service and is obliged to do so because of her condition of a nonfree person. In this case, as in the previous one, her own child is deprived of the breast if she cannot satisfactorily feed both children, her own and that of her masters. The child of the wet nurse is fed on special food supplied by her mistress.

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854 The Guajiro mother who is about to be confined prepares certain articles she is going to need. These preparations are quite limited, and it is not unusual for the delivery to begin without her having prepared something to serve as a "layette"

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854 /ajuar/ for the coming child. Many times the mother is forced to improvise items by using old robes to wrap him in or a bag made of agave fiber for his hammock to protect him from the cold at night.

The Guajiro woman who is in contact with civilization and is comfortably off economically prepares a hammock for the arrival of the child, or weaves it or has it made afterward, using the hanks of cotton thread she has received as gifts. Children wear clothes only when they go on trips. If they are baptized in the Catholic faith, they receive their outfit /ajuar/ from their godmother, who is also expected to present a dress to the mother. As the child usually goes about naked, they do not make any clothes to wear. Some rather long cloths useful as swaddling clothes and coverlets are prepared and serve various purposes. Wherever possible the mothers try to avoid the child's dirtying them with his excretions, in order to lighten the problem of cleanliness, since water is scarce. /16/

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Neither are the Guajiro mothers in the habit of wrapping bellybands round their infants. The navel is left exposed even when it is not completely healed. For this reason ruptures are frequent as well as the death of the newly born due to infection of the navel. But they do use a kind of awning fixed over the child's hammock to protect him from falling centipedes, snakes, and scorpions that abound in the roofs of the huts, which are covered with plant materials.

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Care, training, and treatment of young children. From birth the child is looked after by people other than his mother, as she is obliged to seek such assistance to be able to attend to her other domestic obligations or to rest and have someone to whom she can delegate this care. When she goes to a place relatively near by, the mother does not take the child but leaves it in the care of his older brothers and sisters or her relatives, when they

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854 live together, or her mother if she lives near by. If the mother does not return in time to feed the child, the relatives who are taking care of him will try to initiate him into taking some new food. When the trips are for a long time, the mother takes her little ones along seated on the burro which serves as their transport, in order to avoid the problem of starting them off on a new kind of food when they are very small or when she has no one in whose care she can leave them.

Frequently, the child will attach himself to a relative who shows him kindnesses or small attentions, but he prefers the care and company of his mother above all others and shows his happiness in her presence. This situation can change when the child passes his third year, an age when he begins to lose his devotion to his mother and to show it for a maternal uncle or aunt to whom he becomes attached and whom he follows as they carry out their various duties, even leaving his mother for long periods.

If the mother is poor and has no assistance in bringing up her child -- because she lives far away from her relatives and cannot afford the services of a female slave or bond servant -- she has to take care of him by herself. When the child is very small she [482] carries him in her arms except when he is sleeping, although at times he sleeps in her lap. When he has grown bigger and can sit up, his hammock is tied at the top to prevent his falling out when he wakes up.

The fourth month, when he starts to sit up, she carries him [482] during the day astride her hip and held by her arm. /17/ It must be noted that during the first month he is carried on her shoulder in an upright position, and he is seated on her legs, recumbent on her lap. At two months she does not give him this support for his back, and it is not unusual at four months for her to seat him [145] on the ground. From this time onward he begins to crawl, and it is then that the mother starts giving him slightly less personal attention as she lets him crawl about without worrying about what [165] he picks up to eat or drink, so that it is at this age that the greatest number of stomach troubles and an increase in infantile mortality occur.

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868 Preparation for achieving the upright position is started off by the mother, since when he is three months or sometimes less, she stands him on his feet, supporting him by the armpits and, later, the child will do the same by himself, holding on to his mother's shoulders. When he is going about his usual life on the floor, once he can sit up alone, he finds opportunities to make use of his legs, and once he comes upon something to grip he can pull himself up. With such help he starts off on his first steps, and from the tenth or eleventh month (the fourteenth at the latest), with individual differences, he starts to take his first steps without assistance. Then his mother will fix below the inner eaves /alero/ of the house a horizontal rail of a handy length and height for the child to practice his newly acquired skill.

868 At two years the infant walks all about the house as well as along the paths that lead to the well or the corn field. If it is
857 a boy, the father, the older brothers, or the uncles like to take
231 him with them when they go to near-by places to graze the livestock, so that he may learn and become strong. On these excursions the child begins learning his future work, first by observation and later by participating, when his age permits, until he becomes expert. It usually happens that the Guajiro shows a marked preference even as a child for some certain class of livestock and so, when he is a little bigger, he is put in charge of these, a responsibility he discharges with pleasure during the greater part of the day in the company of his father, uncle, or brothers. After an early breakfast he collects the part of the flock or herd he is responsible for, or he brings them out of the corral where they have slept. He pastures them during the day, never letting them out of his sight, lying down in the shade during the hottest hours of the day, or returning to his hammock at home if not too far away. Toward nightfall he returns home with the livestock to water them and put them into the corrals, or after counting them he leaves them near by in a safe place close to the house.

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854 863 With regard to the training of the child in carrying out his bodily functions, it is the mother or whoever is responsible for him who teaches him; it is usually the mother or his wet nurse. The child learns /18/ shortly after birth to be clean because his mother is concerned with making do with the few pieces of cloth and a scarcity of soap or water to wash them with. Moreover, as the child goes bare, there is little difficulty, when he shows signs of wishing to relieve himself, in taking advantage of the moment to see that he does it in the proper place. Also, she will see that her small child does these necessary functions shortly after feeding, and as she has him in her arms for long periods when he is small, at the least sign of his need she holds him in the right position. If she is seated on the ground or on some object near to the ground, she crosses her legs leaving an opening over which she seats the child so that his excrement falls on the sandy soil, and later she cleans it up. This operation is carried out when the child finishes his meal or whenever he shows signs of needing relief. In this way the child associates the position with the action of fulfilling his need, and he forms the habit of cleanliness, until there comes a time that he is cross or cries if he is not placed in the accustomed position. As he grows, his bodily functions become more regular, and when he starts to walk, it becomes more simple; he learns to squat and later to withdraw to some spot outside the house or to cry out to be taken to such a spot if he is still too small. He also learns to call this function by its proper name or by a special one of his own invention. Later, between three and four he fulfils these necessities without outside help.

The training with reference to urinating is also simple and is a lesser problem for the mother. It worries her less than the former function and follows more or less an identical training process. She moves him to one side so that he does not wet her, [514] and later she shows him, if a boy, how to take the Adult position, or if a girl, to sit on her heels. As the child is naked, the problem is very simple. The child wets his bed for a while, and

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854 863 for this reason the hammock is made of agave fiber, which resists rot, and although a child of a year may still wet the bed, it is usual by the time he reaches this age, and even before, for him to have the habit of cleanliness formed and this problem not to exist, because of previous training. It may be that the child is helped in this by the hot and dry climate of the region, by the reduced quantity of liquid he absorbs during the day, by the physiological phenomenon of perspiration which causes much elimination, and because the mother rises early, at daybreak, and calls the child to his organic necessities, a custom which in time forms a habit, so keeping him dry in bed. /19/

854 When the small family lives apart, especially from the wife's relatives, the rearing and initial training of the children is limited to its members and their maids and female bond servants and slaves if there are any. This training is mainly simple and personal and consists in regulating his daily and nightly feeding, sleep, cleanliness, and beginning to crawl and walk. As the culmination of his preliminary training comes speech.

In this early teaching the average poorer mother plays the main role, as only the better-off mother has the advantage of help from female bond servants, slaves, and servants or wet nurses. We have already seen how the mother carries out these duties or how they are equally fulfilled by whoever assists her.

When she has to go out she leaves the child in the care of her husband, who, following the instructions he receives, feeds the child, watches its cleanliness, its rest, and safety according to customary pattners. At other times the older brothers and sisters have this duty.

[595] If several women live together with a man, it is not unusual that during the absence of one, the others will take care of her children and take her place in protecting and caring for them whether the child is tiny or older. This practice, naturally, occurs only when there is no ill will or hatred between the various co-wives.

[596] When the family life is lived within the maternal family grouping, or when two sisters are co-wives and live in the same

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854 591 house, the training and care of the children is simplified by the joint support and action of the two sisters, who do not object to giving each other mutual aid in sharing domestic duties and the care of the children during the absence of one of the sisters, so that the children are well cared for and trained as if they were members of one family. In the case of daughters who live together with their respective children in their mother's house, the unity among them is almost equal to the case just described. Thus the absence of the mother is willingly filled in by the desire of the others to assist her and temporarily fill her place. It may also be the common mother /of the daughters/ -- the grandmother /of the children/ -- who replaces all the daughters, or a maternal aunt, or even the grandmother -- great-grandmother of the children -- if she is still of an age to do so, a female cousin, etc. In these cases the mother's influence is amplified with that of her maternal relatives who care for the children by trying to adhere to the general norm of conduct and the particular ways that each mother uses.

854 591 Another influence that is being felt and can be perceived more clearly at the present time with the problem of crossbreeding and of Catholic marriage is the /20/ acknowledged participation of the paternal relatives in the training. We know that Guajiro marriage is usually matrilocal, but it can happen that later on it may change into a patrilocal one, the children then coming under the influence of the paternal relatives who also assist the mother. In these two cases there seems to be a sort of transfer of the feeling of kinship, and although the maternal may be more powerful in certain aspects, the paternal by fact acquires prerogatives which it wields actively: The new generation comes under the influence of both branches, which co-operate in their rearing and training.

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854 The mother shows every affection for her small child, above all while it is being breast fed, but later the demonstrations of

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854 affection are not so apparent, and the child develops into a small adult, obeying family authority in his activities and conduct. Now start his training in work, punishments, and learning to put his physical strength to practical use in family life, as he is given responsibilities and duties in the home.

We have already seen how the mother carries her child in her arms while he is not yet sitting up or crawling. It is at this period that she shows him her affection. If he cries or is fretful, she places him upright on her shoulder and gently pats his arms to quieten him and get him to sleep; she lays him horizontally on her lap to put him to sleep, or puts him in his hammock and rocks and lulls him to sleep. While she is working and the child is content, she lays him on rags or matting near to her work, chats to him in baby language and loving pet names. If the child becomes fretful, she lifts him up, offers him the breast, or holds him in her lap while trying to carry on with her work.

To satisfy the child's need to move and to develop his muscles, she seats him on her legs when he is quite small and later helps him to stand up and take steps, stimulating his endeavors with words and cries or laughing at his attempts or tumbles. Lullabies [538] are very common, and there are typical ones with conventional words and music, or extemporaneous ones, which are in the nature of the description of some action, fable, or story that is hit upon, or simply one that tells the child that she is busy and he should be good and go to sleep. The tune may be one of those generally used for such lullabies or that of any favorite Guajiro song.

When the child wakes the mother picks him up from his hammock, speaks to him in baby language, pets him, and calls him endearing names. /21/ This is the time to feed him, and while she does this she calls him some pet name and pats his shoulders rhythmically. Sometimes she will tickle him, she will teasingly take away her nipple to replace it playfully at once, thus stopping his protests. She lets him play with her hair and even allows him to try to grip her face. The other relatives,

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855 including the men, excite his attention and try to make him laugh: they repeat phrases and words praising his baby efforts, they move a homemade toy in front of him, and praise his progress in talking or crawling or walking and endeavor to stop his crying by picking him up, cooing to him, or playing games with him.

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551 The name. In La Guajira everyone has several names. It appears that originally these were two, but later, with the practice of Catholic baptism, the number increased to three, as follows: a) The individual's personal name which is never used by outsiders but only by the person's closest blood relatives. b) The nickname, which actually becomes his personal name as it substitutes for the latter in order to avoid its being used by outsiders, thus giving the bearer a name for practical purposes. This nickname may be derived from some physical or mental quality or defect, from a resemblance to some object, a difference from others, from some circumstance or special occurrence in his life -- for example, at his birth -- from a distortion of his Spanish name, or from an invention of a younger brother who called his older brother by a word of his own invention or the name of an article he is able to pronounce. Both the family and outsiders usually use this name. c) The Spanish name, given at the Catholic baptism, which takes a very secondary place because, if there is a nickname, it will be used in preference to this, which is only used when having dealings with a white or for legal matters. Frequently, the Spanish name becomes so mispronounced that it is mistaken for a nickname.

One could say that every child is given different names by his mother, father, and brothers until a time comes when one is generally accepted and adopted. Although some names may refer to special occurrences or have a literal translation, others are adopted merely for the sound effect even though their translation (if such is possible) may be repugnant (for example, orko, a girl's name, meaning "horse gall").

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551 The nickname is so generally used that when a personal name is mentioned, few people recall to whom it refers. However, they give their Spanish name to a white, trying to pronounce it properly. /56/

Linked with this question of names is the problem of the Indians who emigrate to the haciendas of Venezuela, where they receive a name and surname, generally that of the hacienda, the owner, or the manager. There they are registered with these names. Moreover, some of the bond servants and slaves when sold are given the name of the master and when freed keep this name, sometimes a foreign one, which later they pass on to their children if they marry in the Catholic church.

Magic is intimately connected with the name question (1).

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1. See Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira by Roberto Pineda Giraldo, for further information. Published in Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, No. 1.

[illegible] Following is a brief summary of this matter: The personal name must not be used by outsiders, and the breaking of this rule would occasion a compensation payment. At the death of a Guajiro, others of the same name change theirs, at least in the area of the habitual home of the dead man's relatives, in order to prevent that name being used in their presence, as this also would involve compensation payment. As a result of this prohibition, the same person at different times and places may have a different name by which he may be called, which can cause confusion.

The personal name is given, as mentioned above, by his parents or closest relatives. The same applies to the general Catholic or Guajiro name, according to the following rules: If the marriage is a Catholic one, the children are named by the father, whose surname is taken. The daughters are given the

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65 name of his mother or maternal grandmothers or favorite female cousins. Very rarely is the name of an ascendant in the direct male line given and rarer still that of a collateral female relative in this line. The name of a woman friend, however, is commonly used. For boys, the father gives his brothers' or uncles' names or one of his favorite Spanish names. If the marriage has been solemnized by the Guajiro rite, then the mother names the child, also choosing from among those of her ancestors, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts or of a female friend. She will occasionally accept a suggestion from a female relative or the priest who asks for a Catholic name for the child.

The nickname also originates in the family, as already explained, and it is by this one that the person is identified. At the time of reaching puberty, women try to put aside the name they received when they were children, and their relatives also start dropping it, in order to call them by the one they receive at the initiation. Men, however, generally keep their name unchanged all through life. It appears that the girl, once changed into womanhood by the rite of passage of her initiation, /23/ must not be called by the nicknames she had when she was little, because they are a reminder of her age of immaturity from which she takes leave via each and all of the diverse magic experiences through which she passes, to be reborn (if one may use the word) into a new life and thus enter the world of adults with its corresponding rights and duties. Probably this is the reason why, if the childish nickname should somehow be retained, when they are questioned by a white person, they do not give their name or refuse to answer when thus addressed. However, some girls have common nicknames, but we were able to prove that these dated from after their initiation and refer to some physical characteristic, to a distortion of their name, etc. These names they will tell quite naturally to whoever asks what they are called, never refusing to answer when addressed by this name. Also, in this rests the fact that men generally receive more nicknames than women. The case may be presented that nicknames vary

/23 cont./

551 chronologically because of things that happen or because an alteration in appearance gives rise to such a change, which supplant the former one.

857 462 Games. On general lines, the play /lúdicas/ activities in which children take part are in direct relation to the division of labor by sex. Thus, it is strictly forbidden for them to amuse themselves in games which in real life do not correspond to their sex. Boys, for instance, are not allowed to play with dolls or to cook, and girls must not practice archery. The father will openly oppose and invoke all his authority in the small family, to keep his sons, even in play, from doing girl's work. This sense of the division of work which controls their games causes the child, alone or backed up by the influence of his father and of his maternal uncles, to refuse to do anything which does not correspond to the activities of his sex, as it is believed that games or pastimes different from those traditionally established for each sex create a liking for, or a tendency toward, the work of the opposite sex. The Guajiro wants his men to have all the accepted masculine attributes, and his women to be wholly feminine. One of the ways of violating this ideal is shown by intervening in activities of the other sex, either in play when children or in work when adult. Thus, the father will say to the little girl, "You are not to practice archery. Are you a tomboy that you should do such a thing?" And the woman who works on harnesses for animals they also consider very mannish and lowered in her standing as a woman.

Children -- both male and female -- in La Guajira take part in two kinds of play lúdicas: games properly so called and pastimes /24/ which serve as an apprenticeship and training for their work as adults.

524 Among the first and as a pursuit for boys, one may include games with ropes which, although they do develop manual quickness and ability, are not played for this purpose. These games are practiced either alone or in a group. In the former case, the object is to gain command of the technique and to learn to

/24 cont./

524 participate later in the competitions in which the child challenges his playmates to make a certain figure in the shortest time. Other forms of competition are: that of interposing difficulties in forming the figure, making a greater number of them, or the invention of new ones.

Spinning tops is another game which is played with notable intensity and variations, as the boys learn and practice the different ways known of handling this toy in their country, such as dancing it on the hand, beating the opponent by smashing his top with the opposing one, etc. For this game a special vocabulary and rules have been established as well as techniques to win when taking the offensive or tactics for defense.

They also play with glass marbles or, when lacking these, palm seeds with the edible endocarp. For example, they make "houses" by placing three marbles in the form of a triangle as a base and superimposing a fourth. The game consists in knocking them down with a fifth marble. He who manages to do this takes for himself the marbles or seeds originally placed. Another variation consists of several players placing their marbles on the floor. In strict order each one tries, by flicking his marble with his thumb levering against the index finger, to hit the marbles of his opponents or to place his own at a previously arranged distance from theirs, to win and get their marbles.

857 [369] But these games are practically only for town children or those kept in school, as the average child has little leisure to play, for from a very early age he is a valuable work unit who must concentrate his activities on carrying out some task, leaving him little time for such diversions. Also, he lives isolated in very lonely places and consequently will rarely meet companions to play with.

[526] Boys also play ball games, which they learn at school, and they learn to act in the Festival of the Kid at harvest time when they take the parts of small animals, children, gifts, or ornaments.

Imitative play activities are the pretending and exercise of adult activities. The child amuses himself, for example, by practicing /25/ hunting, stalking and killing small animals such

/25 cont./

857 as the machorro /edible lizard/, or shooting arrows at something white or at pigeons. These are his diversions when he is herding at the times when the animals are resting or quietly feeding.

As a pastime he practices the exercise of controlling the animals he is in charge of and especially his skill in subduing and lassoing them. This gives him great satisfaction as well as training him for his future life. Also of great interest is horse riding and competing in races, which stimulate competition and /help in/ acquiring training.

Thus, the Guajiro boy can learn and play at the same time, and these activities are permitted, as his relatives find them advantageous, since they fit him for the activities he will have to carry out as an adult. Moreover, the life of the Guajiro boy is spent for the most part in the woods, and his home life is reduced practically to the hours of nightly rest and meals. During the day he is only in the company of his older brothers, his maternal uncle, or his father, and it is while with them that he may indulge in the luxury of playing, or at the times when he is free from chores. For this reason and because one sex is not allowed to take part in the play activities of the other, the possibilities of mixed games are very limited.

In spite of the endeavors of the mothers to keep their sons by every means from playing, or getting together, with the sons [614] of neighbors -- because of the danger there exists of incurring a compensation payment if a companion of another clan is injured -- at times they do join us, and it is then that they play the games just described. The boys also look for companions to help them in their chores, such as carrying a message, bringing in an animal, etc.

The girls' play activities are almost always of a type useful in training them for feminine duties. The girls, spending more time at home than the boys, have less chance of escaping from family pressure, which in the poorer classes requires them to assist their mothers in household duties and care of the younger children from a very early age. When they belong to better-class families who have female servants or slaves, they pass their

/25 cont./
857 time playing with dolls, and in make-believe cooking, and visiting, activities they will be carrying out when older.

During all the time of our stay in La Guajira, we saw no games specially designed for girls beyond those just stated, but it should be noted that when they are together with other girls of their own age they are quite happy /26/ to carry out the household duties with which they are charged, such as bringing water from the well, looking for firewood, etc., as they take advantage of the opportunity to climb trees to look for fruit or simply to swing in the branches, activities which their mothers complain about because they tear their clothes, for which they are punished.

The only mixed activity we had occasion to observe between boys and girls of six to twelve years was the game of sweethearts; they made jokes and played at being annoyed or unwilling and imitated all the attitudes of a couple in love. /27/

II

THE CHILD IN THE MIDDLE YEARS

Punishment. Encouragement. Childish Reaction to Punishment. Training.

861 The Guajiro Indians expect their children to comply with the established norms of conduct, and if they break these rules they are punished in different ways. This reaction is not systematic, as breaking a rule does not mean that punishment will necessarily follow. When it produces no harmful effect, a lapse may be passed over, but if it should cause serious harm the child is punished in consequence. In the question of punishment it would appear that the parents follow the principle of accumulation, that is to say, to put up patiently with a series of misdeeds on the part of the children and at a certain moment to take advantage of an opportunity, at times insignificant, to show their authority and establish the precedent that their orders and wishes are to be

/27 cont./

861 respected. This sudden reaction may be due to personal feelings of the parents; for example, when the mother is repressing some disappointment she will often relieve her feelings by punishing her child, somewhat unjustly, for some fault or faults previously committed. However, it may be that naughtiness is immediately followed by punishment.

Furthermore, the parents being confronted with a repetition of an act previously punished, persistently remind the child of what he suffered before and the possibility of again feeling more severe punishment because of his repeated disobedience, or they simply show him the objects used to press him with a view to compelling him to submit to the paternal will.

The most common causes for punishment are the following:

862 1. Acts against normal feeding habits, such as stealing food,
673 frequently practiced by children for various reasons: a) because he is the last to receive his helping at mealtime; b) because adults ostensibly get preference when any special dish is being served; c) because in times of scarcity it is the elders who avail themselves of the short rations, which provokes a feeling of inferiority in the child that his hunger helps to emphasize and forces him to steal to remedy the situation. This theft may be /28/ of several kinds: Stealing of food which is immediately eaten, since it is cooked or does not require cooking, such as chicha, milk, cheese, panela, sweets, fruit, or a special dish that the mother is keeping in expectation of a visitor or is meant for her husband or an invalid. To steal this food that the mother hangs from the ceiling or puts in some hiding place means that the child must take advantage of some carelessness on the part of the mother to carry out his act.

Another kind is the theft of food that is not to be eaten immediately but that is taken to be hidden and eaten later when he needs it -- while away from home pasturing the animals or when going off surreptitiously to hunt.

Another form of food stealing is that done by the eldest brother or the one with a sweeter tooth than the others. On being handed

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862 673 their share of food, they quickly eat theirs and wait till the mother is not there to snatch the share of a younger or weaker brother by force, by stealth, by deception, by false promises, or by coercion in some form, such as threatening to reveal to the parents some misdeed not known to them.

862 261 In general, the growing Guajiro child is never satisfied with the amount of food he gets, and in his craving for more he places no normal restraint on his appetite. He is always capable of eating more than he can normally hold, even to the point of suffering, in the hope of building up a reserve or because, feeling himself undernourished, he finds pleasure and satisfaction in eating to repletion. He always eats as if he were starving, which sometimes is the case, but at other times is only the remembrance of past hunger and the fear of its repetition.

Parents believe that the habit of these small thefts may lead to bigger robberies from people not relatives, which would bring about a series of troubles to the family group to which the young delinquent belongs. Also, the food stolen may be necessary and even indispensable for home use, and the theft means that an adult, a sick relative, or a visitor whom they wish or need to look after is deprived of it. One has to bear in mind that in certain parts of the country the sources of food supplies are so few that food is scrupulously rationed to last out until new supplies become available.

Children are also punished as their parents want them to behave abstemiously and uncomplainingly during the long spells of scarcity so frequent in this country, /29/ although they have their reward later when, in time of abundant harvest, food is plentiful and extravagantly used, only sufficient seed being retained for the next sowing. During these times of scarcity the Guajiro lives on a very reduced food ration and puts up with hunger and thirst to an incredible degree, and mothers want their children to achieve a similar standard: to behave like adults in such circumstances.

862 574 A further motive for correction and punishment is when the child refuses to share the food that has been given to him or that

/29 cont./

862 574 he himself has obtained by his own efforts, with a brother, relative, or friend who comes to the house. He is made to do so by force if he does not do so voluntarily, for this hospitality is the norm of conduct in La Guajira, as it is customary for the group to afford mutual aid, and the sharing of food is one of the most obvious manifestations of this. For the Guajiro, whether he possesses much or little, will share it with his consanguineous relatives; norms of hospitality founded on the basis of strengthening their own personal prestige, as well as that of their clan, oblige the individual to receive a guest courteously in accordance with his status and that of his group and with his standing as a visitor, a welcome that has the quality of reciprocating attentions of a similar nature received from the guest and a desire to repay the same with interest. For this reason the parents believe that they should make their child comply with these social precepts and show himself to be generous, such being ideal character traits in the opinion of the Guajiro. They regard such cases as an opportunity to train him to comply with established custom; they fear that in the future the boy may not comply with those principles which form the economic link between members of the consanguineous group and are the basis of clan social etiquette. For this reason they punish the child and oblige him to comply.

862 Another cause for punishment in this matter of food is the waste of food, more so if the child should stamp on it in a temper. In that case, he is severely punished. We believe that the Guajiro is right, because fear of the scarcity of food is an ever present problem which causes both adults and children to eat beyond the limit of their normal appetites in times of abundance. For this reason they believe that if the child wastes food he will suffer shortages greater than ever, and this punishment, by social law, will apply, as is natural, to all of them.

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867 2. A principle that the child must comply with under parental authority is submission to orders given him, whether

/29 cont./
867 positive or negative. He must fulfill as if he were a small adult the obligations that are imposed on him, carry out the chores that he is charged with, and assume satisfactorily the responsibilities he has to discharge. /30/

867 Thus, boys and girls must carry messages from one place to another, from the house to the fields, for example. The girls
857 bring firewood from the woods and work in the kitchen, etc., while the boys carry out efficiently the pasturing of the herds. These are positive orders. Of negative nature there are, for example, those that forbid the climbing of trees for fear they will tear their clothes; sneaking away from home to go among neighbors, especially when the neighbors belong to a different clan, as the mother always fears that if for some reason or other her son has a quarrel with a playmate and they come to blows, or if directly or indirectly he causes blood to flow, she will be responsible economically for the damage done as immediate compensation payment will be demanded. They likewise fear that some criminal act might be committed by the children, the consequences of which would fall on the instigator.

3. Children should never fail to tell the truth; even though
867 what they are saying is the product of childish imagination, this does not excuse or mitigate such a lack of truth; it is considered as an open lie by the family and clearly merits punishment. The child should never make a statement that is not true; that is to say, he is prohibited from lying in any possible form or manner. The Guajiro believes that if children lie they do it, deliberately, and if the vice is not corrected it will have troublesome consequences both in the family life and in the whole social collectivity because there is a compensation payment for slander, deceit, etc. Besides it could bring about difficult situations between individuals of the clan, with lamentable consequences. One exception appears to us to be that adults and even the older children boast of their strength, of their prowess in hunting, in war, and in their love affairs, and even about their economic standing. Frequently, they are imaginary happenings that they boast and crow about.

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865 4. The child should adopt certain habits in the conduct of
his relations with his parents and relatives: to listen submissively
to remarks without a haughty reply or showing unwillingness to
carry out orders or making gestures that might appear arrogant;
never to give a rude answer to whoever gives them orders about
their work; never to answer discourteously nor in a way to show
displeasure or arrogance when reprehended or punished nor to run
away in these circumstances, as then the punishment would be
greater; never to use bad words in Spanish as that implies a double
191 offense: that of making use of a foreign language as well as bad
195 words as such, besides coarseness and insults between adults lead
689 to the compensation payment, which (as all of these social pay-
ments do) falls on the relatives. /31/

5. Besides aggressive acts toward his elders, we have those that can occur with his playmates or his own relatives and which acquire a more serious character when they affect his friends from other clans, and when from the verbal offense -- which may also have to be compensated -- they pass to fighting, because if blood should be shed the mother of the injured boy will make her claim for compensation payment (unless both combatants are hurt, in which case it is cancelled). In these cases of bloodshed, as will be seen hereafter, the relative social and economic strength or weakness of each of the clans to which the combatants belong is an important factor, as the stronger group always imposes its interpretation of justice on the weaker. These are the reasons that compel the mother to try to prevent her children from playing with those of another clan to forestall such possible claims. In spite of this, however, the boys escape her vigilant eye, ignore her orders, and manage to get together in most of their boyish activities. The prohibition to join up with boys of another clan develops also from the fact that if a boy is invited to join another group and some accident should occur, the responsibility will fall on the group of the boy who extended the invitation.

865 The relationship between siblings is usually peaceful especial-
593 ly between those of the same sex. They readily become comrades.

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865 Nevertheless, there are cases where the elder brother attempts to impose his authority and oblige a younger brother to obey his 693 orders, building up his part. From ten years of age onward the relation between brothers and sisters becomes rougher and occasionally quarrelsome, but after passing puberty and initiation, when the girl has become a woman and the boy an adult, their relationship takes on a definite shape, to be reflected in the future friendship between the two and in the ties that will exist between the brothers and the children of the sisters, over whom they will exercise their authority and protection.

We have already described one of the aggressive acts between brothers on the part of the older toward the younger, in the theft of food behind the back of the mother or whoever represents authority /in the home/. There is another form of aggression which the younger child adopts in order to get what he wants from his elders and from his siblings: He throws himself on the ground, where he rolls and kicks, screaming and crying inconsolably. His mother punishes him to stop him from giving way to his bad temper, considering his action harmful because when big he might continue with his rages and while in that mood cause grave injury to his people and to himself. For in 152 reality when the Guajiro becomes furious, he goes completely out of his mind and commits deeds he would not dream of doing 865 in his proper senses. If he cannot get his way he becomes so 762 angry /32/ that often he will hang himself, doing this in such a rage that he loses his instinct of self-preservation and even when he is half dead will insist on finishing himself off, so throwing the responsibility of his death onto the person who caused his bad temper. If his mother is unable to control these exhibitions of childish rage, it will continue with him during his youth and as a man will become increasingly worse, often causing him to leave home in the excess of his fury and giving rise to suicide when he is thwarted or opposed.

864 6. Delinquent acts that may appear among children about ten years old are the sexual relations between girls and their 835 brothers when the latter are busy with their pastoral tasks and

/32 cont./

864 the girls go into the woods to round up the burros or for other chores. 835 We know that if the mother learns of these happenings she immediately hands out punishment; we also know that it is considered very bad because of its prematurity, because of the act in itself, and because of reasons of blood relationship; but we do not know in what way punishment is meted out or the reaction and the social and family attitude when it becomes known. The fact is that the mother with girls of that age prevents their meeting their brothers outside her personal vigilance. The disregard of that prohibition even if it is not presumed that such a delinguent act 864 has taken place leads to punishment, because the mother knows 581 that these prepubertal relations will later have a decisive influence on the girl when she seeks marriage, as the future husband expects her to come virgin to him and the payment he makes for her includes such a concept. If she is not he has the right to claim a compensation payment and to obtain the legal refund of part of the animals he has paid; or they are obliged to admit it before the marriage, with the prospect that they will be denounced or the hoped-for /marriage/ purchase will not go through. In any case, with foreknowledge or without, the loss of her virginity reduces the value of a marriageable woman in the eyes of the men seeking her as wife.

There are punishments of various kinds. Some are corporal 861 and consist of striking the child, and these are the most frequent. They slap them on the mouth when they are insolent when given an order or when they give a sharp answer to the father or mother. They are punched and kicked or are whipped with lassos or riding whips, with twigs from the woods or cudgels, but the mother generally beats them with a bunch of nettles when they commit any kind of naughtiness, such as throwing themselves on the floor and rolling around from temper, sneaking out of the house without permission, disobeying an order, etc. /33/ In order to punish them the mother tries to take them by surprise and catch them firmly by the arm or hand so that she may punish them before they can escape her. She beats their legs or shoulders with the nettles as these parts are usually bare. This punishment is very painful

/33 cont./

861 but does not produce bad aftereffects as blows with sticks do, and it makes the child take warning and promise not to repeat his disobedience; before a relapse, it is sufficient to mention the punishment for him to comply with the order given him.

Another quite common form of punishment is to take the child and put him into a mesh bag of agave fiber, sling it on one of the high branches of an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ and rotate it until the child is nauseated and vomits, becoming unconscious. He is then lowered and left on the ground until he recovers. The mere threat of repeating this punishment or just showing him the bag is sufficient for him to do as he is told. These punishments are generally inflicted for disobedience.

Stealing food may also be punished in a like manner. This disobedience may also be corrected by the child's losing his ration of food, which is considered the hardest punishment of all and which the child willingly exchanges for the worst of beatings. This kind of punishment is considered unjust by the society, but it is nevertheless employed, especially when the child has pettishly or in a temper thrown away his food, to remind him, moreover, that he had wasted it before.

When children up to five years of age are very gluttonous, the mother will serve them a very large helping of food and oblige them to eat all of it until they vomit. She believes that in this way she will cure what she considers a defect. Beatings are the usual way of checking gluttony, stealing food from the mother or younger brothers, wasting or damaging it, not wishing to share it with a brother or with a friend. When the child refuses to eat and spurns his food with disgust after having been punished or reprehended, his mother pretends not to see and lets the child have his way, or she takes it away, leaving him without food.

There are punishments of a different order from the preceding, based on the recalling of a punishment previously suffered, when they repeat to the culprit what he said on being punished, his sobs and promises, trying to mimic each one of the details humilating for the little one, to shame him, or showing him

/33 cont./

861 what was used for his punishment, such as the nettles or the bag. Terrified by these, he will obey the commands of his elders.

On giving an order or forbidding a child to do something, they may threaten him various times beforehand in order to ensure obedience. /34/

When the boy or girl is approaching puberty or has passed it, the verbal reprimand or scolding is the more common. This 762 nagging disapproval may be repeated to a point where the boy or girl in desperation will leave home or even commit suicide. Another way to enforce obedience from a young child or to get him to sleep is to frighten him, when he is very small, telling him that the cocón (1) will take him or that some old drunk will carry him off. The small child is frightened and obeys, but when he is older he loses his fears and the threats are no longer of any use.

602 The mother, the aunts, and the grandmothers take the principal part in applying punishments; also the maternal uncles. 689 The father's part is limited in this respect as his children are not considered to belong to his clan (cf. kinship) so that should he go too far and draw blood from the boy or should the boy kill himself or become ill through his fault, the mother would claim compensation payment from her husband. Nevertheless, this is reciprocal, for if the son commits suicide because of the punishment inflicted by the mother, it is the father who then presents the corresponding claim for compensation payment.

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1. Degeneration of the word coco, used in Colombia to frighten children in expressions such as: "The coco will take you" and "There comes the coco," etc.

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861 The reactions of the child to the punishment he receives for the different offenses considered punishable are diverse. Thus we see that during his early years, on being beaten he will scream, cry, and try to run away or endeavor to show his resentment by becoming enraged and throwing himself on the floor, where he rolls furiosly, an attitude he will also assume if he cannot get his own way. On again being beaten with nettles for this act, he takes warning and only at long intervals will he have a relapse, because he is threatened by a repetition of the punishment.

When he is able to walk and run perfectly well, the child
861 attempts to escape punishment whenever possible by running
858 away when he sees his mother or the person who means to punish him, or he endeavors to keep away from home in the hope that their annoyance will pass. When the beatings are very severe or very frequent or he considers them unjust, it is common for the boy to run away, going as far away as possible, in search of an uncle or relative who will offer him protection. The flight from home is more usual among boys than among girls and is more liable to occur toward the prepubertal age, because the youth feels restricted by family demands and /35/ aspires to get free of them. At this age corporal punishment and deprivation of food are punishments much less used, but criticism and verbal reproaches are the most used, and the young people react violently against these. In the cases where the scolding comes from the father, which is rare, the mother tries to pacify the boy, pointing out that he should not give such importance to the matter. But when it is she herself who reprehends him, the furious boy leaves home or stays in the house sulking and not speaking to anyone, showing his resentment and refusing to eat. When he leaves home, the mother allows a certain time to pass, during which she makes inquiries as to his whereabouts and what he has said. Then she asks an uncle, a brother, or his favorite friend to speak to him and persuade him to return. When he comes back she makes no allusion to the matter, and home life then goes on as usual.

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Another very usual reaction is that of learning each day to
861 dissemble and show astuteness in avoiding punishment. When he
sees the attention of his mother or his elders is distracted, he
will do what has been forbidden: go to visit at a neighboring
house, steal food, climb trees, etc. Later he will lie barefacedly
to avoid the possible punishment.

When a boy is very frequently punished, which does happen
861 in some homes where the mother is continually beating the chil-
593 dren, the child becomes sullen and withdrawn; he stays away
from home, passing most of his time out and about or in the
neighbors' houses, endeavoring to avoid the presence of his
parents. We have heard of a mother who asked her eldest son,
who was in Venezuela, for money as she needed it urgently.
His answer was: "I have no mother. She was a tyrant to me and
to my brothers, and I plan to bring them here with me so she
will not be able to beat them for nothing. I will send her no
money as she was always so wicked and cruel she does not deserve
it." When the mother learned of this reply, her reaction was to
cruelly beat all her younger children as a warning to them not to
[762] do what their elder brother had done. The husband reprehended
her for her cruelty, and she ended by hanging herself. There are
several similar cases which show the later resentment of some
sons against their parents for the harshness of their treatment
during their childhood. A boy can bear a permanent grudge,
and as soon as he feels strong enough to oppose his will to that of
his mother or his elders in general, he becomes stubborn and
[762] stands up to them. On occasion, if opposed in his deepest feel-
ings and blind with fury because of some punishment inflicted,
he will hang himself, by which deed the consequences of his
[689] death fall on the originator of the punishment, as the other parent
will put in a claim for compensation payment, alleging that
the boy was so exasperated it drove him to /36/ to take his own
life. This law of obligatory payment tends to limit the appli-
cation as well as the violence of the punishment, although, in
spite of it children are cruelly treated in many homes.

/36 cont./

884 Toward the prepubertal age the boy begins to show his reaction to family punishments and controls, a liberating phase which culminates after puberty with the handing over of his animals when he marries, or before if his pastoral ability allows his taking full charge of them. Then, with his economic independence assured, he is freed from the discipline of the small family. He wants to figure as an adult and take an active part in the life of the community. For the male there is a difficulty as regards the coming of age because they have no initiation rite so that the time of his independence is subject to his economic circumstances and is in consequence elastic. On the other hand, in the case of women the biological phenomenon of menstruation marks the end of their childhood and their transformation to womanhood with all its privileges, rights, and duties.

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861 The mother and the persons charged with the care and training of the child not only make use of punishment to obtain his obedience and submission to traditional norms of conduct but also have recourse to other kinds of stimuli which we might call positive. For example, when the boy tends to cry overmuch and is cowardly when faced by some slight problem, he is told: "Don't cry so much. Are you a girl that you go about crying so much? We should send you to take part in a wake /*veloriar*/ (1)."

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1. *Veloriar* is used to indicate attendance and participation in the wake for a dead person, during which those present weep mournfully over the corpse.

If the crying is caused by an injury which the mother had foreseen, she says to him: "I told you so; you alone are to blame; no one did you any harm so you need not cry as it is all

/36 cont./
861 your fault; and as you would not listen to me, you can suffer the consequences." Or she consoles him by saying: "Don't cry, it doesn't really hurt; It is not worth crying about. Be a man." If the one hurt is a girl, the mother soothes her saying: "Why are you crying when you are braver than any man? You always behave with more pluck than they do."

Another way to get them to respect an order is to have recourse to stimulation by comparison. "Your brother -- or so-and-so -- obeys /37/ his mother promptly and helps her without being told what to do." Or she tells him, to encourage his efforts: "Why won't you be able to do such a thing if X... who is smaller than you already can do it?"

Obedience and submission are also achieved with presents. When the parents go to a village, they bring back for the son something he has wanted. They will also promise him some gift, trying to satisfy his taste or the particular liking of the child. "I will give you such-and-such a sweet cake"; "I will give you this"; "I will let you go to that place"; "I will let you play with your friend if you will do what I ask promptly and well."

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The cult of the dead is fundamental in the social life of the Guajiro, and the child is instructed in it. This cult represents, moreover, another bond of union among the living, by its reminder of a tie of common blood, which relates to a third person to whom mutual relationship is recognized; moreover, it makes common cause with the incidents of his life and death, evoking a strong sense of solidarity.

The cult of the dead expressly implies a series of obligations in which the child is instructed and compliance with which is directly associated with the maintenance of the status of the dead person's family group, obligations which this training tends to render unavoidable.

Probably the cornerstone of this instruction is the daily calling to mind of dead relatives, for at three o'clock in the morning,

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769 867 more or less, when the people who sleep in the house have not yet risen from bed, the woman of most authority in the home -- the mother, the grandmother, the maternal aunt, or the eldest sister -- begins to recall their departed ones by a long-drawn-out wail the same as is customary in the lamentations at the wake, and immediately following she starts sobbing and in a mournful tone recites an account of her sorrows for the death of her relatives. She says, for example: "Oh! We have no mother; it is sad she did not die of some sickness, but that they killed her . . . ," and she goes on describing her death with all the sorrowful details: the humiliations and troubles she had to put up with from another group, emphasizing especially this death has not been satisfied, that is to say, is without a just compensation payment, that those who killed her are living tranquilly; that the family blood was spilled by people who are still unpunished. She then relates the social dangers that threaten her family at the moment from other groups, their anxieties over the coming summer /the dry season/ which will further impoverish /38/ them and thus bring them less justice, but returning continually to the theme of the dead relative, going back even to the long past death of some other member of the family who often even her own mother had not known, associating in this way the family dead of different periods, referring again to his or her natural or violent death with all its details, trying in accordance with the Guajiro point of view to discover the person who, for whatever motive, is responsible for the deed, making the whole weight of responsibility fall on him or her as a relief to her sorrow.

Once this narration has ended, the sobbing is suspended for a few minutes, and then another of the women of the house returns to the same subject in identical form, until every adult woman in the house has unbosomed her sorrow, referring to the past with its bitterness and to the anxieties of the future, recalling the memory of their lost ones and the causes of their deaths. This daily repetition results in the children's not only learning the cult of the dead but also the past history and the fellowship of feeling of the family group. They learn to admire the virtues

/38 cont./
769 of their ancestors or to sympathize with their humilations, share
in their hatreds and common sorrows, as well as to learn to per-
867 form this practice and repeat and transmit it when they form
their own homes.

764 Furthermore, the presence and participation of the children
in the ceremonies which are performed at the death of a relative
769 are meant to teach them through experience each one of these
867 ceremonies. Thus he learns and has engraved on him the feeling of mutual support that exists between related members of a group, such as the financial help that must be forthcoming, when it is a case of a poor relative, in order to be able to sacrifice animals and to see to the necessary amount of liquor and hospitality customary on such occasions, and the shrouding of the corpse, the etiquette that life beyond the grave demands from the wife, the relatives who intervene in these activities and their behavior (such as their weeping at the foot of the corpse), fasting and abstinence from meat: in fact every one of the established cultural patterns obligatory at these times, and it is an apprenticeship which the child receives through explanation and personal observation.

The child also shares in the family life during the days immediately after the burial; in the offerings that are taken to the dead one when it is feared, by magical indications, that his life beyond the grave is not normal for lack of something that he needs; in the periodical visits made to the grave and in the bonfires that for several nights are lit to illuminate the path of the dead.

Later he joins in the ceremony of exhumation. He knows
769 his part and that of his immediate relatives and, as in the
571 previous cases, each one /39/ of the traditional norms. But
867 the most important thing about all these activities is not to learn to carry them out correctly, but to establish the sense of solidarity with the dead one, with the family, and with the society in which he lives. With the dead, by fulfilling an obligation of consanguinity in order to assure him -- even by coercion of

/39 cont./

769 571 867 his spirit -- a proper life in the future. With his family, by mutual aid and solidarity in sorrow and in their joint economic effort, and in the case of a violent death, by making common cause in order to obtain effective justice and the negotiation for the compensation payment, in order that the blood spilled may be properly atoned for.

He also learns the extent of the injury to a dead relative, linked to the mention of his name, which may revive all the sorrows, feelings, and painful past of the group.

Regarding society, the child learns how he, personally, must behave and also what the behavior of his group must be, the rules that he should comply with so that his prestige be not diminished since such would involve the lowering of the prestige of his group and have its repercussions when they try to obtain justice after any friction. This is what causes the bonds of consanguinity to tighten more and more and manifest themselves in the generous gifts each individual member subscribes to help another at a time when the clan, as a group, is being appraised by outsiders; and it is this that the child must learn, really learn: proper cult practices for his ancestors at the moment of their death and later, corresponding to their social status and that of the consanguineous relatives.

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604 The training of a child of the middle years is not connected to the localization of the family, because at this period he breaks away from the small family circle in order to live with his other relatives for long periods of time.

When the marriage is solemnized under the Guajiro rite and when that tradition is still followed, the young boy is initiated and instructed almost entirely by the maternal uncle of most importance or of highest standing in the family circle. So, once the little boy can get around alone from place to place, this uncle, who generally will have in his possession all the

/39 cont./
604 presents of livestock the boy received at his birth or later or the
legacies from his father, takes him under his care. He, the
uncle, is not only responsible for looking after his social conduct
and for instructing him in normal behavior while he is under his
868 care but also for teaching him the work of pasturing. He takes
604 the boy with him /40/ when he is so occupied, and he passes
on his knowledge in order that the boy may become a well-trained owner of livestock or, if he is poor, that he may learn
how to look after them, because it is not infrequent that a
Guajiro has in his charge the livestock of some rich man, and
with these he teaches his nephew.

As the preference of a Guajiro for one special type of livestock shows up early in his life, the uncle should guide him along those lines, giving him every kind of advice in the best way to care for them, with practice to prove his theories.

867 During this time the uncle not only passes on his knowledge
604 of stock raising to the boy but, when talking to him of the past
of his group or family, when he recounts some incident, when
correcting him or telling him a story, he passes on the strict
traditions of the community. For it is the uncle at this period
who is responsible for his nephew, and as he considers him his
actual son, he tries to make of him someone similar to himself.

868 Another of the uncle's responsibilities is to show the youngster how to carry out agricultural duties at the right seasons.
604 If he owns agricultural land he will usually give him a plot so
that the boy can till it when he acquires the strength to do so;
or else he continues to teach him on his own piece of land until
he is trained in these activities. This handing over of a plot
of land, as well as of his livestock when the boy is considered
capable of handling his personal property successfully, is the
basis of his family and economic independence and the road
toward the purchase of his first wife, by which the boy becomes
a man and is ready to live his life as an adult. This plot of
[428] land, for which he inherits rights of cultivation, gives him a
certain prestige because arable land of fertile quality is scarce,

868 /40 cont./
604 and if he inherits a piece he will acquire the status of the uncle
[428] who has made him the owner.

The boy also learns from the uncle skill in certain tasks in which the latter is practiced, such as the making of harness and weapons, housebuilding, and other accomplishments like horse riding, lassoing, horse racing, etc.

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Another very important function also learnt from the uncle, although it might be self-taught, is that of arbitrator or cacique. From the uncle the boy takes in the legal tradition of the peninsula, and, listening to stories of acts which have occurred in the past, he learns the line of reasoning observed, the psychology, and the problems of his kin, the mastery of the language, all essential requirements for success when the responsibility passes into his hands.

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While living with the uncle the boy also becomes adept at hunting, as he accompanies him on his expeditions, during which he learns all the necessary details until he becomes expert in all /41/ respects, including laying traps to catch the animals that damage the crops. And secondarily, in addition to hunting and livestock or pastoral activity, the boy learns the art of stalking, which in hunting is important in order to get better results and is useful in stock raising also, for various reasons, such as finding a lost animal or following up thieves who attack his herd, etc.

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Also, in war he is on this relative's side, because, according to traditional Guajiro law, war unites the consanguineous relatives on the maternal side. So he learns, when warlike deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

/41 cont./

868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

593 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

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593 With respect to the training of girls, the mother and the maternal relatives play an overwhelming part. When the family lives an isolated life, the influence of the maternal relatives diminishes, as we previously had occasion to see, but as the girl approaches puberty, she may be sent to the home of her grandmother or maternal aunts with whom she will live and whose influence will surround her at this period. We should moreover consider the occupations of a girl as she passes through different phases. When she is very young, in the poorer Guajiro
868 home, she is counted on as a helpmate to assist and replace the mother in her domestic duties so that with her and the other adult women of the family she learns to take her part in household activities: care of the children, drawing water and fetching firewood, cooking food, keeping up the fire, cleaning house, washing clothes, etc.

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167 Later comes the time for her to help in the agricultural work. As emigration has reduced the population of La Guajira in the past few years, women have found themselves obliged to carry out work traditionally done by men. Thus there is a need to employ all hands available, and the girls of prepubertal age must contribute their help in the work. Although clearing away trees and underbrush and plowing are men's work, these are now being done by women in addition to the traditional jobs usually expected of them, such as sowing and harvesting, in which latter activity they are more effective than the men. The girls are trained in all these operations alongside the older women until they become completely expert.

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883 Another angle of feminine economic life is weaving. Only when she is at the prepubertal age, do the mother and her female uterine relatives take charge of training the girl, as they consider that at this age her babyhood is over and it is necessary that she should give up the freedom she has so far enjoyed in order to take an interest in weaving. If there is an aunt skilled /at weaving/ at home, she will teach the girl; if not, she goes to the home of some kinswomen and stays with

/42 cont./

868 them for long spells, working at her apprenticeship in the art,
883 which she must perfect and complete during the time of seclusion at her initiation, very likely under the vigilant care of the same women. /43/

867 Also, from her elder maternal kinswomen the girl acquires all the cultural legacy of the group as well as the particular traditions of her extended family. She experiences and participates in the daily cult of the dead, and at times when an exhumation or wake takes place she attends, accompanying the women of her family, so becoming initiated into all the ceremonies and prescriptions. She also goes with them when she is approaching the threshold of puberty to be company for them on their visits in order to learn comportment in social life; she also learns the norms of hospitality when visitors come to her home, and she has to assist her kin in fulfilling them adequately. Slowly, by indirect participation, she learns the use of love cóntras /charms/ in the feminine struggle for predominance in the polygamous household, and she comes to know of these problems as she sees them being worked out in the lives of her mother and her relatives. She also gets to know of the intergroup struggles and their consequences; of migration; of magic in all its intensity; of legal norms; things she learns by constant repetition of cases which have occurred in the peninsula and which she hears referred to by her relatives and friends, men and women who frequent the house.

All this cultural life reaffirms and completes the special training received during the seclusion which follows her first menstruation, when she is committed to the care of her kinswomen, who will give her detailed private and personal techniques and information and the specialties traditionally entrusted to certain families, if she is a member of such, such as, for example, the making of pottery, medicinal and magical knowledge of herbs, preparation of charms of various sorts, etc.

857 Childhood occupations. The occupations of the child are
462 determined by its sex, just as in the matter of games, so that

/43 cont./

857 462 they are oriented toward and are practiced in terms of this biological division. Let us analyze this separately:

a) Boys: We saw when speaking of games how adult men are opposed to a mother's obliging a boy to carry out feminine jobs as they think that such work degrades him, means a loss of manly dignity, will cause him to become effeminate, and will militate against their making of him a brave man, the ideal of the Guajiro. The boy begins the activities corresponding to his sex at an early age, almost as soon as he can follow his father or favorite maternal uncle about in their daily pastoral work, especially the first-born, as the father, as we have already noted, expresses his wish for the first-born to be a boy so that he can join him in his comings and goings.

857 462 231 So from the time he is very young, the boy rises at three in the morning, goes in search of the livestock that sleep in the corrals or fields /44/ near by, and drives them to water. During the day he keeps the herd together in the places where there is grass, not going too far away from the wells, watching them continually to prevent thefts, especially of the young calves by wild animals, or those entangled in brambles; during the long summer he learns the job of casimbero /"water controlled" -- Tr./, that is to say, to wait at the edge of the casimba (1) for the arrival of the animals who are in search of water, in order to give them enough, putting it in the troughs that surround the well. He learns to milk, a job that is generally given to the men, though in grand houses it is frequently done by the female bond servants and slaves. He also learns from the grownups to whose care he is entrusted how to handle newly born animals and sick ones, to lasso them, to master them in order to brand them; to mark goats by a cut in the ear; to break in horses; to recognize the good points of a saddle horse; to track an animal that is lost by the tracks it leaves,

1. An artificial well.

/44 cont./

857 an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged
462 to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows
231 and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his
857 small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various
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2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his
462 maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own
241 piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins,
462 cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The
415 job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative
[531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the deliver-
462 ing of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

/45 cont./

857 462 A joint duty of children of both sexes is the care of their younger brothers or sisters when circumstances require it, though this is mainly performed by girls when there are any of the right age.

b) Girls. Little girls five years old are given small tasks, such as carrying messages, going to the fields to take some small item to the father or an uncle, drawing water in vessels so that the elders may bring it on burros up to the house. At six or seven they begin to do some cooking. From ten to twelve years, that is to say at, the prepubertal age, they are initiated into the different ways of weaving, and they can go alone from [835] one settlement to another. It is at this time that they occasionally have sexual relations with their brothers or with their father.

857 462 252 Almost from the time she can look after herself -- toward three or four years of age -- the girl assists her mother in all her work, especially when she is the eldest and when she belongs to a family with few economic resources. In the kitchen she learns to prepare food such as mazamorra, bollos /rolls/, and arepa /ground-corn griddlecakes/; to hull corn and grind it with the traditional equipment, the pestle and mortar made of stone; to light and keep the fire going; to handle the pots on it and build new hearths; and, in time, to prepare the various kinds of chicha and the customary soups for special occasions, to make use of the different fruits, both wild and cultivated, and to serve up various local dishes such as sancocho de chivo /goat-meat stew/, the way of preparing meat etc., until, having arrived at the moment of puberty, she is on the whole acquainted with all the customary culinary procedures.

Other work they are taught to do quite young is fetching water and firewood as well as a series of household chores such as house cleaning, taking care of the younger children, and at times feeding them and keeping them clean. They are sent to the woods to bring in the burros that are used for carrying water or fruit or serve for the women to ride on. /46/

857 462 222 They also start to lend a hand in the harvest and accompany the women when they collect wild fruits such as olives,

/46 cont./

857 *iguarayas*, and *trupillo* pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi,
462 which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used
[222] for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or
[482] shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when
the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 In general her occupations during childhood are affected
by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a
184 child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing,
556 without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning,
264 when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before,
592 the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. *Punishment*, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

/46 cont./
264 592 giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others, which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /47/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the elders are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the eldest will leave the smallest without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers most appetizing. [415 422] Furthermore, each child has his own dishes and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc., which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

862 The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin mazamorra prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

/47 cont./

862 chichas and cojosa (sour milk), and, when he cuts his teeth,
solid food which had previously had to be mashed for easier
swallowing. After passing this period, the child eats the same
as any adult, with slight differences marked by the family
organization, as we have just seen, receiving the plain food
served since it is unusual for him to share in any special dishes
which the adult members of the household may eat.

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262 During periods of scarcity the gathering and use of wild
[222] fruits is an important item in the household economy. The
Guajiro, when he finds any such fruit, will immediately eat
as much as he can, until satiety is reached. Regularity in hours
of eating is very difficult in such circumstances -- one might
say that the Guajiro has no fixed mealtimes, but that he eats
when he obtains some food. In normal times and in homes
where the shortage of food is not much felt, the family's hours
/48/ for meals are more or less as follows: On rising, very
early, they take a little coffee with panela, if there is any,
[272] or more often a gourdful of cojosa (1); in the evening after
sunset, upon returning from work, they have their principal meal composed of mazamorra with milk, some rolls or corn griddlecakes and coffee or a chicha of fruit, corn, or yucca. The normal diet does not include the daily eating of meat, which is only eaten on certain rare occasions, the same as cheese and certain vegetables such as ahuyamas /Cucurbita berucosa/, gourds, yucca, etc. Toasted corn with salt or something sweet is frequently eaten, rice soup (a very much-used food), dry rice, or a soup of trupillo pods /Mimosaceae/, which are chewed after having been parboiled, the fibers later being spat out, or mixed with milk. At periods when food is in short supply, they have the habit of making use of the tender shoots of cacti, which are roasted over a flame in order to get

1. Milk which is left to sour in special food vessels.

/48 cont./
252 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

—264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

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513 The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleeping as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
[352] onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/, that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged
[283] in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

/49 cont./

855 Sometimes they may share their hammock with a brother, not
513 a common occurrence, or sleep on occasion in that of an adult.

The hours of sleep are regularly those from eight at night to three in the morning, when the child takes up his pastoral duties. During the hours of midday heat, he may return (when pasturing near by) to sleep under the bough-covered shelter /enramada/ at home, or drowse in the woods under the trees. If he is not a herder, he may get up later in the morning and will also take a siesta during the hot part of the day. He sleeps in his usual clothes, the guayuco /loincloth/, only loosening somewhat the belt at his waist which holds it, to lessen the tension.

In the regions of the mountains, where it is cold in the early morning, hammocks are placed near the hearth where a fire has been left burning or which is lit during the night to temper the low temperature, and no one sleeps outside the house but inside. At times a sheepskin or that of some other animal or a robe /manta, "robe, usually worn by women"/ is thrown on the hammock, or for want of these, they get up and huddle round the fire to warm up and then go back to their hammocks and try to sleep until the intense cold obliges them to repeat the process.

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291 The boy goes about naked up to a certain age, variable
855 according to the group. For instance in regions which are in contact with the whites, when around six or seven years old, they wear a guayuco very similar to that of an adult, held up by a homemade belt. They use no other addition, unless occasionally they get some other item of clothing, generally from a white source, which they keep on until it is worn out. When they are old enough to put on the guayuco /loincloth/ and even before if they to pasture the cattle, they start to use guaireñas "

/49 cont./
291 (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the
855 hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more
advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kióra /headband/,
[292] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the
adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then,
generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun.
Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty,
[415] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches
which are attached to the belt and which serve /50/ as a purse
and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults),
small objects for personal use, etc.

301 Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of
778 their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear
855 when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of
coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to
prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they
leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

291 With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter
855 than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula
where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives,
who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past
the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment
which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when
an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants.
It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed
between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called
a sirapo, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or
seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked
until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the
development of the mammary glands begins to be marked,
she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for
hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads),
which is intended, as the girl is already beginning to be initiated
into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping
position much of the time, to keep her from becoming
humpbacked; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

291 /50 cont./
855 it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her
breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments,
301 magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some
751 necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred,"
855 to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have
[304] their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although
this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head
302 and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and
855 the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Never-
291 theless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-
day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time
she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

881 The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

/51 cont./

881 As soon as the menses appear, the head of the girl is closely shaved. She is placed naked but wrapped in a robe /manta/ in a supine position in a hammock which is slung up close to the ridgepole inside the house. Beneath the hammock a cloth is strung so that the girl cannot be seen from below.

In this position and as immobile as possible, she remains for five days (some say for only three), without eating and complying with a series of rules which later will have importance in her adult life. For this reason these rules must be observed by her to the letter, and she must be closely watched and counseled by a kinswoman, generally a maternal aunt, who does not leave her by day or night while she is suspended above, reminding her of what she should do and prohibiting her from doing what is tabooed so that she may not suffer the consequences in her future life.

Before being placed in the hammock, the woman who is [208 789] in charge of her gives her a herb drink to make her vomit a great deal, with the aim that the girl will hurl out, along with the food she took when she was not yet adult, all her infantile psychological characteristics, such as her mischievous and disobedient nature, her imagination, her way of thinking and believing, her /52/ irresponsibility, her incapacity for work, and, moreover, all those characteristic bodily mannerisms of a girl. Beyond this, the mother a kinswoman, or female friend [832] who may have a potent love charm considered of great effectiveness, places it on her neck or, if it is for external application, rubs it on the genital organs, on the breasts, and all over the body as prescribed, because at this particular time it is effective and especially because it is the propitious moment to acquire powers of attracting the opposite sex, qualities she will have to have in adult life to obtain the married happiness for which she is now being prepared.

If these two prescriptions are not complied with or are carried out faultily, the girl, changed into an adult, will be lacking in judgment and common sense in her actions, which

/52 cont./

881 will mean serious troubles for her family, since the noncompliance with social norms will bring the consequences of her illegal behavior on the family group. In addition she will be lacking in responsibility and will perform badly her role as sister, wife, and mother, just the functions for which she is preparing, and these two factors weigh very much in the life of the Guajiro woman as a member of society. The charms properly applied so that they transmit their power will assure her married happiness: She will not find herself exposed to the problems of polygamy, which imply lack of affection and ill-treatment from the man who buys her for his wife, and in this way she will have the longed-for predominance over him and over the co-wives, who in consequence will take a secondary place by the force of her personality.

Once inside the hammock she must not move nor change
881 her original position, because it is believed that /should she
784 do so/, on being brought down later, she will have one leg longer than the other. Neither may she scratch any part of her body because that will leave visible scars. This matter is very important as the ceremony of the seclusion transforms her physically from a girl to a woman, wholly bound to the canon of beauty held by her group, an aspect, which like the others will also greatly affect her adult life. One must also
[826 take into account that in La Guajira a physical defect has a powerful influence on the individual and to mention it is
578] equivalent to an insult which will give rise to resentment on the part of the adult and could bring sinister consequences upon the offender.

Neither should the initiate spit on the floor, because by doing so her honor will be slandered in her unmarried life as well as later after marriage, as they would say of her, judging by appearances or through unfounded malevolence, that she had dealings with a man. They will say she is a "madcap" /cabeza-loco/, a nickname they give to a woman of easy virtue and which causes discord between men and women and which will deeply affect her legitimate hopes for marriage.

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881 While the girl is in the hammock, friends and relatives
keep arriving in large numbers, announced by the family, especially
292 when welcoming well-to-do people, and then they
start preparations for the feast: preparation of beverages and
slaughtering of animals. All the consanguineous relatives contribute
their share and foregather to join in what is called the
chichamaya dance, during which are passed around large quantities
of rum for the men, chicha for the women, and meat for
all the participants. The guests turn up dressed in their best
dress-up clothes: the men with their wide festival belts, their
finest robes, their headbands (kiára) with the crest of feathers,
or lacking such, hats adorned with feathers. The women /wear/
robes of brilliant colors, plenty of jewelry, very long shawls
which hang down their backs nearly to the ground, sandals with
302 large, brightly colored tassels, and, above all, facial painting,
preferably red, very carefully applied. On these occasions
they dance through the night, the following morning, and the
afternoon, and in this latter part of the day they may hold
horse races on which large bets are wagered.

881 When the prescribed number of days are over, during
which the girl has not satisfied any of her body needs, not
784 having taken any food during that time, according to what they
say, her relatives unsling the hammock in the early hours of
dawn and the girl descends, faint with hunger. The first food
she receives is a drink of bija /achiote/ dissolved in water.
Presently, little by little, they add to her diet thin corn
mazamorra without milk or salt, and later a little milk and
262 meat. She must not, for example, eat any animal udder, because
by doing so she would age prematurely and her face
would be lined with wrinkles, deep and numerous, like that
food.

881 The girl is bathed with four earthen jugs of water which
have been previously left exposed to the evening dew, as this
832 gives it a special quality for whitening, which is important
for the high appreciation both men and women have for a

/53 cont./
881 light-colored skin; For this reason, during the period of seclu-
832 sion the girl is bathed every morning with this water by the
woman charged with looking after her. There was some talk
of a second bathing at nightfall, but we could find no confir-
mation of this.

881 After being lowered, the girl is confined in a room separate from the house, the walls of which are sufficiently thick to prevent her being seen from outside, or, more generally, she is placed in a small room communicating with the house by a small opening so low and narrow that one can only enter it by crawling and which is closed off by a wooden door or a cloth to keep the adolescent from being seen. This room is built or improvised by the male relatives of the girl, who from this moment /54/ may not see her while the seclusion lasts. During all this period she is taken care of by one of her maternal kinswomen who is thoroughly acquainted with this rite of passage, who has the time to spare to devote to this service, who enjoys the full confidence of the family, and possesses all the ideal qualities of an adult woman, so that she may make of the novice someone similar to herself. It is also essential that she should know well the whole corpus of Guajiro culture so as to be able to instruct the initiate in it, especially the aspects relating to marriage and maternity. And, finally, she is required to be well practiced in domestic duties, especially in weaving. However, in these technical matters she may be replaced by, or receive help from, another close female relative in the training of the novice.

This woman bears the responsibility for the diet and medi-
cal care of the girl; she must herself prepare the prescribed
514 foods and serve them to her, look after her hygiene, supplying
her with a utensil to satisfy her body needs (a wooden box with
a little sand), and require of her pupil that she keep her head
covered with a kerchief, so that her growing hair may grow
832 very black and shiny, which is of particular importance within
their ideal of feminine beauty and also because this hair, as

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881 well as the whole organism of the future woman, must be completely
832 renewed and different from what she had when she was a child and which she leaves behind on suffering the first menstruation, as well as each one of her childish psychic and physical habits.

One of the principal preoccupations of the person responsi-
881 ble for the care of the novice is her medication. This medical
278 treatment includes especially the daily and repeated drinking of infusions or juices of certain herbs which are intended to assist her to reach perfection in all that is related to her future life. One of these medicines is the herb called hawapi, which is obtained from the herbsellers of the Sierra de Jarara and Sierra de Macuira, who grind it carefully into a paste which hardens with time. They daily scrape off a small portion of this, which is dissolved in water and given to the girl before her first meal, after the daily bath, at midday, and at sunset. The aim of this is to give the young woman a bodily aspect different from the childish one she had, as by its means she loses her drawn-out lines and her sex is defined by the development of her breasts, of her hips, and all of the adult female form, following the accepted canons of feminine physical beauty: a tall body with broad hips, breasts well developed, erect, solid, and having pronounced curves but firm of flesh. This herb, according to local belief, supplies fat to the essential parts of the body. /55/

Another of the medical attentions is directed to avoiding the return of menstruation during all the time the girl is secluded. If she is well cared for, says the Guajiro woman, it will not reappear; otherwise, however, it will. To obtain this result she has recourse to the empirical and traditional knowledge which she has of plants, and she gives her a series of juices or potions to avoid menstruation. The women say that these medicines influence their married life, as the woman who is well looked after during her seclusion will have easy deliveries, normal pregnancies, healthy children who will grow

/55 cont./

881 normally, and above all she will not be worn out by too frequent
278 childbearing, since all these remedies in the long run are made use of to avoid the woman's having these cares, so much so that in the case of the very poor girls sterilization or at least a very limited fecundity is hoped for, because they know that they and their offspring will be practically in the hands of the stronger groups who can easily enslave their sons and daughters and nephews and nieces by the arbitrary and exaggerated use of legal institutions.

Even if the girl enters the Capuchin mission and for this
881 reason does not go through with the initiation in her home, and
278 even if her parents, influenced by the missionaries, decide to
787 forego this custom or are prevented by poverty from holding it, she does not forget -- and her companions back her up -- to take the medicines prescribed even though she does not undergo the regimen of seclusion. During a long period of time -- which shows what value she herself sets on her novitiate -- every morning she takes the juice of herbs which she knows of or which are given to her, to avoid menstruation and to obtain the objectives mentioned above. (In order to clarify further of the significance with respect to maternity in the initiation of young women, we refer the reader to the section Death of the First-born, Chap. I, pp. 10 ff.)

The economic aspect which she must learn and which by
881 the perfection and acquisition of new techniques now plays a
286 very important part is that of weaving. The woman during her seclusion improves her knowledge of this trade, which she began to learn during her prepubertal period. This matter has so much importance that in cases where a girl has been abducted and her maternal relatives present their claim for compensation payment, the man can refuse to buy her, alleging she is not able to weave. Furthermore, the woman by weaving earns money for the support of the home which is in her care. She must also supply her kin, including her husband, with guayucos /loincloths/, saddle blankets /pellones/, and other woven necessities.

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881 Also, she has to acquire full knowledge of domestic duties: how to prepare special dishes as well as the ordinary ones; the norms of hospitality toward her friends and those of her husband, and toward him especially; what in her married life she is allowed to do; the consequences of her conduct in married life; /56/ the problems of polygamy and the way to face them; her role as administrator of the home; feminine life as such; the sexual act; notions on fertility, pregnancy, and prohibitons when in this condition; legal obligations that her husband should comply with; giving birth; diet, etc; her role within the family as intermediary-regulator of relations between her people on the one hand and the husband and his relatives on the other, her co-wives and the children of these if they live a life in common, etc. She likewise learns the past history of her group with all its eminent members and their deeds, its economic position, its status, etc., all of which will show her how to identify herself with them and acquire the affectionate contacts which the consanguineous tie imposes.

881 784 A special condition during her seclusion is the isolation of the girl from all the male members of the house and from those who come to visit. She is not allowed to see them or to be visited by them. No man is permitted to enter her room so that it is redundant to state that she is prohibited from all sexual relations. So much is this so that it has occurred (in areas where there is little or no contact with whites, where the poor Indian woman is at the mercy of the abuses of the rich) that girls during their seclusion have been violated by a powerful Indian, and her parents have terminated the seclusion and made the man pay (if they can muster enough backing) for the abuse committed but not for the possible pregnancy, as they do not believe that this will happen if the girl has been properly cared for. If a man should enter her temporary lodging, she is expected to hide herself and not look at him.

Lastly, she must observe the custom of speaking softly to the woman who is caring for her and to her female visitors, and of speaking little and not laughing stridently.

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881 184 556 The duration of the seclusion was longer in past years, longer than at the present time, and there still may be found cases among rich families where this period is extended to five years, but normally among poor families it may last only one month or even less, and in the middle-income group it averages six months to one year.

884 881 Once the family in conclave or the mother and the aunts decide to terminate the seclusion, the final feast is given, in which the girl appears and behaves as an adult. She is presented as such, and she is given the opportunity to occupy the place of, and to take part in the activities corresponding to, a marriageable young girl. Frequently at this feast some interested guest may offer to buy her for his wife.

881 The news of the "coming out" of the young girl is rapidly spread throughout the peninsula. All the friends of the family arrive at the feast, as also the important people of the region, who have been invited beforehand, and, very specially, all the well-to-do marriageable men. If the woman is of estimable qualities and talents, /57/ those who are looking for a wife for the first time attend. The family preparations for such a feast are very complete, according to their status. There is an abundance of drinks for all, men and women, music for dancing, horse racing when they want to give more splendor to the gathering, and slaughtering of animals. The maternal relatives make their donations and meet to help their relatives in the fulfillment of the customary norms of hospitality. The more important visitors are received in the house itself and given preferential attention, according to their standing. The
308 girl is bathed for the last time at dawn with the traditional earthen jugs of water, and her hair is cut in the fashion, that is to say, leaving it a short, disheveled mop. This is done by an experienced woman of eminence who can transmit her excellent personal qualities to the girl. The latter carefully keeps her hair in her bag with her intimate personal possessions and later places it under fresh cow dung with the hope that she

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881 will soon be bought with heads of cattle. This signifies that her value will be high, such as corresponds to a woman of standing. She likewise takes great care that her hair does not fall into strange hands, as it is believed that it might be used 882 by some man who wants to do her harm by making with it a magic charm which would have the quality of causing her to fall in love with him; he on his part would scorn her and abuse her, as she would be left submissive to his will.

After the haircutting she is dressed in the traditional costume of an adult woman and is decked out with the customary jewelry and ornaments in accord with her family rank. She receives this jewelry from her mother, from her maternal aunts, and from her grandmother, and they are placed on her by the woman charged with caring for her or by a well-to-do kinswoman, so that they may never be lost. After this, they apply the facial painting, also for the first time, which, it being a feast day, should be made from red annatta /bija/. Then she makes her appearance at the feast, and she may dance and be courted. At this moment, crucial for her life, she must give signs of adult capabilities, showing evidence of the worth of the years of her novitiate, not only in the physical aspect of her fair skin and dark hair, in her mature figure, in her dress and ornaments, but also in the proper fulfillment of cultural patterns. The relatives carry on the feast as long as they can or think in keeping with their position. Afterward, the woman, ready now for marriage and motherhood, starts to comply with the patterns established in her culture for the adult woman.

881 182 Summarizing, we can say that the initiation of young women has the following characteristics: /58/

1. It has the significance of a new birth, preceded by a process of spiritual-physical transformation which converts the girl into an adult woman.

2. It is a system of preparation for adult social life, in the sense that /by its means/ are acquired knowledge of proper cultural patterns.

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881 182 3. It represents a period of apprenticeship during which she acquires mastery of the general techniques of the culture and the specific ones pertaining to her family.

4. From the knowledge obtained from the past history of her consanguineous family group, the initiate is identified with it, giving rise to the reaffirmation of the bonds of union, as an adult member participating in it.

5. It is a period of preparation for the perfect fulfillment of the socio-physical function of motherhood.

6. Lastly, it constitutes a thorough training in the biological and social functions of the woman in carrying out well her role as a wife. /59/

IV

PREMARITAL CONSIDERATIONS

562 Independence of the man. In the Guajiro family organization the man occupies a privileged position which is apparent from his childhood onward.

The father, as we have seen, hopes that his first-born will be a boy, and the maternal family also cheerfully accepts that wish, as it is the male elements that strengthen and give prestige to the family, who defend it in disputes with other groups, and who can help the group forward as a powerful economic factor.

For these reasons Guajiro boys are reared with more freedom and privileges than girls. In the absence of the father, the eldest son, or in any case the male child, takes the father's place in important matters in the home, being consulted by his mother, who respects his opinion, and he occupies his father's place and has his privileges at meals.

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884 It is toward his fifteenth year that the beginning of the age of manhood is noticed, and with it, the boy starts to break free from family tutelage, giving his opinions and making decisions on his own account. This independence, as we have already had occasion to see, is linked to the complete handing over to him of his animals, as he is already well practiced in the matter of livestock care to which he has been accustomed since his early years. It is also linked to agricultural work done on his own account, since he can develop new land when the traditional family land becomes scarce owing to excessive subdivision or monopoly by some member or members.

However, although his independence has increased, his relatives consider they have the right to ask him to account for his actions and oblige him to assume a fixed line of conduct, because he must always circumscribe his conduct to the family norms. At sixteen his physical development affirms his desire for independence, and at seventeen, or even before, he accentuates his manly traits so as to give the impression that he is a man in every sense of the word, and he becomes a caricature of that: he drinks ostentatiously at family gatherings; quarrels with his elders, expressing his opinions in a loud voice, and lets his boastful and arrogant comments be heard; he exaggerates the actions in which he has taken part; he adopts extreme positions in the face of unalterable situations; he shows off in any danger, /60/ trying to convince others of his grown-up manly qualities. At the beginning he is admitted reluctantly into the men's gatherings, but this situation changes into one of acquiescence which becomes full acceptance as the measure of his personality becomes definitively delineated, and the boy is converted into a real economic force, until he fills a clear and definitive position in the family and social group. 885

This position of equilibrium is not reached until his twentieth year and in many cases not until the twenty-fifth, depending on personal qualities. And among all these extreme masculine attitudes that the youth adopts to establish his status

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885 as an adult man in his group, it is probably marriage which definitively gives him his passport of citizenship, if we may so express it, as this includes not only the biological act of a physical coming of age and its legal recognition, but it also carries with it an interesting social aspect in that the Guajiro who contracts marriage, if it is true that he then reaches the maximum expression of freedom, must, on his part, pay back in his behavior and usefulness to society some of what he possesses through it. *In other words*, his personality is definitively formed, and he is considered a member fully entitled to all rights, but with the obligation to comply fully with all those duties which up to that moment had been gradually meted out to him, according to his age.

And in order to marry, the man must comply with a series
583 of social and legal requisites traditionally established, which
885 lead him to contract long-term obligations with all his relatives and with society in general, obligations which restrain that freedom of action longed for in his youth and which constrain him to depend more and more on his family and the group. If, for example, he has had to ask for assistance in order to pay for his wife, he takes on as a result legal obligations with all his relatives and friends who helped him, obligations which will never end throughout his life. Upon getting married, furthermore, if it is true that he will be considered an able member capable of surviving economically by himself, the advice that his father gives him on handing over his livestock shows him that although he will have backing in the family, he must have recourse to all his forces in order to attend to his sustenance and the fulfillment of his matrimonial duties: "Now you are married and must make your own home; you have to be a different man from now on. You can't laze around but must carefully watch your animals and those of your wife and administer everything she has. You must put up the fence round your corn field to help maintain your wife and your children. You must be a man and not a lazybones now that you are married." /

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583 The married man is the head of a new cell, and this implies family and social obligations. These he must face up to
885 as a head of a family under peril of loss of prestige and lowering of position. With the coming of children his position becomes more and more extended, as his duties and rights are becoming joined and broadened, for to the obligations of a husband are added those of a father. And these are further complicated on contracting marriages with new women, as then he has reached, according to the Guajiro way of thinking, the maximum development of his male personality.

Valuation of virginity and of the woman. The value of
581 the Guajiro woman is fixed by the marriage payment, that is to
562 say, it is the economic assessment of her worth. The conditions of this valuation, traditional among the upper classes (as the lower classes have lost them through socio-economic conditions which even influence those of some standing), may be summarized thus:

The physical qualities which make a Guajiro woman
581 desirable are those that comply with the traditional aesthetic
832 norm and are those that the woman after her seclusion (Cf. Initiation of Young Women) makes every endeavor to acquire at any cost: tall stature, balanced by well distributed flesh which gives her an appearance of robustness and full-bodiedness, so that when walking decked out in her ample clothes, she has an appearance both elegant and majestic; wide and robust hips (probably with an unconscious biological end in mind, or a sexual one, or a combination of both); small and upright breasts, as the opposite is considered almost repulsive; and, above all, firm flesh. This last is probably the most desired quality, as the man openly confesses that when his woman over the years loses it, he replaces her by another one who has it. The shape of the legs has no importance, probably because with the full, long dress they are out of sight. In the main, they are thin in relation to the body and frequently bowlegged /?cascorvas/.

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A woman tries to maintain these qualities as she well knows that they form the center of attraction to a man and that maternity steadily destroys them. This may be one of the reasons for the increasing use of birth control, for which they take herbs that do not allow them to conceive, abortives of all kinds, and they take advantage of their knowledge of their periods of sterility and avoid sexual intercourse at other than these periods.

Their facial features are of no great importance to them so long as they conform to the anthropological norms of the group. They prefer a face with large, dark eyes and beautiful, healthy teeth. Also, they are especially attracted by the whiteness of the skin as it indicates social standing because it is a sign that the woman is better able to look after herself by protecting herself from the sun of the region. During her /62/ seclusion the girl does not expose herself to the sunlight, and her greatest pride is that her skin has become whiter. Every morning she bathes with water left out previously in the evening dew, which besides having magic effects has the property of whitening the skin, and when she goes visiting she always covers her face with facial paints -- a customary practice required by etiquette, which also protects her from the sun's rays. During her seclusion the girl also complies with other beautifying and magic practices, such as denying herself certain meat like deer meat or animal udder, since this last, for example, will wrinkle her rapidly and she will lose some of her physical attractiveness.

A woman is well aware that her future married life will be affected in great measure by her preserving an agreeable appearance and that if the man does not feel satisfied she will be relegated to second place, and he will acquire another woman. For this reason she continually struggles to benefit by all known means to recapture her husband and retain him and avoid his acquiring other women. This is the reason that the mother, when her daughter is in the hammock ready to be hoisted up during her initiation, places on her a love charm which has the property of attracting men and of which we spoke in a previous chapter.

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581 The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and
so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attractive
832 colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation),
291 and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry:
301 bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains
with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially
tumas, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her
maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From
then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities
when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast
or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing
[554 is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Translator/,
304 because in this region the women, who are not very
careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication
of their social and economic position.

581 The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also, dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the maintenance of their status. /63/

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

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581 harness for animals, and, when living among civilizado /nonnative/ groups, domestic service in the homes of whites and mestizos, the carrying of water and part of the agricultural work in areas, such as Nazaret, where cultivation is possible on the banks of streams, as well as in regions where only temporary cultivation is carried on. In places like Carrizal and Bahía Honda they collect divi-divi, and in the saltworks they do secondary work for pay or simply to assist their husbands.

581 593 [684] This aspect of Guajiro marriage is so important that when a man has abducted a woman and he is considering whether he will buy her or only make a payment for the abuse he has committed, he obtains plant filaments or cotton and sets her to work to make a hammock or a belt. If the woman is not capable he will reject her, as he will reckon that he should not pay for her a price as high as is being demanded. The fact that the woman is an independent economic unit with her children allows her husband to dedicate himself entirely to his pastoral work, to go to the men's gatherings and to the various fiestas, to participate in communal work when asked, to go off on hunting trips for weeks at a time, without having to worry about his home, to join up with his group to fight when necessary, to go traveling from place to place where his other women are, where he gets other economic assistance; in fact to lead a life without worry, although at the present time, owing to conditions of diverse nature, he is finding it necessary to change this pattern of living and to take a more active part in economic life, through the necessity to migrate or to work in the urban centers. This does not mean that he is forced to give more direct assistance to the home: He still follows the traditional way in which his help is only sporadic and absolutely voluntary, leaving to the wife's care the support of the home and of herself; only at the present time when he receives a day's wage for his work, he will drink more and spend more time in idleness while he is spending his earnings.

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581 The Indian also values the relatives of his future wife, be-
593 cause if she has rich relatives and he pays well for her, these will feel themselves obliged to supply her and her children with means of subsistence to live, freeing him from a responsibility which would otherwise restrict his freedom. /64/

To marry into an economically strong group has the advantage that this will bring to the marriage a dowry fitting his esteem, which the future husband will administer, as well as a series of gifts which the women's relatives will make to his children, and, what will increase his prestige, the number of ornaments, dresses, etc., which she will bring with her and in which she will appear in due time. Furthermore, although his marrying one of these women implies a heavy disbursement at the moment, in the long run he will receive suitable reimbursement with the payment for his first daughter to be bought, which belongs in full to the father.

Neither does the man disregard the social value of the
584 woman, above all in his first marriage, which is the one that
583 represents it. By this purchase he and his relatives, as well as those of the girl, try to arrange an alliance which will reinforce two strong families or tighten the bonds between them. This induces them in many cases not to consider the choice of the bride (not so much at present), the elders freely making arrangements, in order to obtain the advantage of a high price, the linking with a group whom they fear, avoiding thus prejudice and strengthening friendship, but at the same time hazarding the possibility of the woman's committing suicide. This same fact is what permits the abduction of a woman, which is not considered such in the wide sense of the word but rather an acquiescence on the part of the woman's relatives, who look complacently on these relations, having confidence in the compliance with the payment on the part of the man. It is a deed which demonstrates good faith on the part of relatives on the woman's side to which the man must respond by arranging an immediate and satisfactory payment, if he does not want to

/64 cont./
584 have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good
583 financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So
they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups
who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency
and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which
each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

555
581 Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowl-
593 edge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has
palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. *Caciques*), that is to say, that
[191] she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandizement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /65/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into satellites, submissive to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of *tener palabra* /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, as she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the knitting together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

/65 cont./

555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
581 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
593 she knows by suitable attentions (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

* * *

583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes
836 several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity:
[554] First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /66/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

/66 cont./

583 cabeza loco /madcap/, according to the Guajiro expression, two things which he cannot bring himself to accept: the first, because 836 he considers that having paid for his wife, she should belong to him from years back and the thought that someone else has possessed her makes him feel that he has been defrauded in his payment; the second, because he fears this may repeat itself in the future and conjugal fidelity will be doubtful when he is away on his duties as a nomadic herdsman. This doubt, in time, becomes an obsession, and it sows difficulties in their matrimonial relations, because the uneasiness of the man may explode when least expected for any cause that fires his passion of jealousy. He is always jealous of someone, and he fills his life permanently with questions, suspicions, precautions, and traps, in the attempt to discover who was his predecessor, whose name the woman will hide with the same zeal that he shows in trying to find it out. This doubt even reaches his children, because the man feels he has no certainty of his paternity. He spies on every small detail about his wife in her behavior with the men he is acquainted with, to learn if one of them could be the father; he checks minutely the physical appearance of his child, his gestures, his expressions, to see if he can find any similarity to someone he knows, also consulting the opinion of others in order to get that peace of mind he so much desires in himself.

If the man should confirm that the woman has belonged successively to several men, he asks the return of his payment, or he abandons her after humiliating her to compensate himself for his inner suffering.

Generally, the man on confirming that the woman he has bought is not a virgin immediately presents his claim for compensation payment to her relatives. Initially he informs the father (among the mestizos) or the closest maternal uncle. The claim for compensation payment demands the immediate return of half of the property given in payment for the woman, as this amount is the evaluation of the extent of the fraud which has been practiced on his spirit and his pocket, the rest being left as payment for his future cohabitation with her. With this reimbursement

/66 cont./

583 836 the man feels satisfied, because the price paid included, tacitly, her virginity. If the woman's relatives do not handle the situation prudently, reprisals and hostilities may take place between the two groups. Also in these cases the man will claim the necklace which he gave the woman as a sign of their betrothal the day the marriage was arranged. But he does not do this with an eye to gain but to make the woman suffer some part of the humiliation /67/ he himself felt on learning of the deception. Furthermore, as the necklace is a sign of engagement, asking for its return resembles an act of breaking it, although, in point of fact, the woman continues to be tied to the man with matrimonial obligations.

At times the man will follow another norm of conduct, especially at the present time when this state of affairs occurs more frequently and the claims for compensation payment for this condition are losing importance: He himself assumes the punishment for the deception. He roughly inquires of the woman: "Why are you not a virgin when I bought you believing that you were? Why don't you say who possessed you before I did?" He goes from insult to action and beats the woman, who, recognizing her inferior situation does not dare to protest.

It is possible that the Indian will not at first go beyond insulting the woman in private, but under the influence of alcohol the [152] resentment grows out of hand, and it is then that, in the presence of his friends, he will recount his problem and complain. Not content with this, he makes up songs referring to the subject which contain insulting commentaries and will sing them to his wife when with his friends to humiliate her in front of them and so obtain some satisfaction for what he personally suffers. In this [578] state of drunkenness it is not uncommon that he will beat his wife, shielding himself from reproach by the fact that as he has not been repaid the part of the marriage payment due him, her relatives are not in a position to protest.

Often with time the matter gets forgotten, and it only crops up on certain occasions when they quarrelsomely bring up all the past with its emotional content, due to some disobedience on the

/67 cont./

583 part of the woman, a rough gesture, or a rude answer. Sometimes
836 the matter is settled by the woman's being abandoned.

If the woman divulges the name of the man who originally possessed her, or if it is learned by some means, the husband will present his claim for compensation *for abuse, because the one* who enjoyed her, without payment, made use of something which belonged to him by act and right of purchase.

The economic valuation of virginity can be confirmed by the [587] fact that a widow who refuses to live in marital life with the maternal nephews of her late husband must pay a sum equal to that paid for her by her husband, less a discount for not now being a virgin. Also, when a woman has committed adultery, the husband has to be compensated for the offense received, and a payment is then made which is less than that for which the woman was bought, as a discount equivalent to the value put on her virginity is allowed, it being supposed that this existed at the time of her marriage. /68/

The Guajiro woman who is not a virgin and is about to be bought generally prefers, in consideration of the consequences, to inform her future husband of the facts. She tells him: "I warn you I am not a maiden, but if you truly care for me you have to buy me as I am. I tell you this beforehand so you can think it over and not throw it up to me afterward, seeing that I am not deceiving you." The woman is forced to make this confession in view of what might occur later when her lie is found out. Nevertheless, she will suffer much uncertainty as she has to face this dilemma: To tell the man offering to buy her and thereby expose herself to the possibility that he will withdraw, disillusioned and goaded by the desire to find out who had done such a thing and whether she would be faithful to him in their married life, and, furthermore, exposing herself to the danger that he might divulge her "secret" on a day of heavy drinking, by which her prestige before everyone would be wrecked and no man would come forward to buy her for a wife; or not tell him and suffer the consequences. However, it sometimes happens that the man reacts to

/68 cont./

583 836 the situation in a different manner. He says: "The past does not matter to me. I suppose he did not cut out your organ." In this way the woman gets tranquilly married, and the husband, aware of the facts, makes no later claims, though it may happen that the price paid is lower, although this is not usual, as the man in recognition of the woman's confession shows a generous attitude.

In the case when the woman who is about to be bought has received payment for abuse, the man takes into account the intervention of the maternal family who saw to it that the feminine elements of the group were respected, which proves to him that it is a family group that insists on the law being complied with and for this reason has sufficient prestige and masculine elements to enforce it and is a group that, because of the payment he will make, will look after the security and stability of his marriage. Also, the knowledge of every one of the details of what happened (violation or marriage not carried out because of the nonpayment of the second payment) is an adequate palliative which excuses, to the Indian's way of thinking, what has occurred and does not constitute a deception or an economic or moral fraud.

[684] When in consequence of premarital relations a pregnancy has resulted, the man who causes it must pay for the birth in addition to the abuse, in accordance with Guajiro tradition: a number of animals to the mother or the immediate relatives for the troubles of pregnancy and for the birth itself, which includes the pain suffered and the blood lost. If this woman is later bought, an amount is deducted from the payment, which tacitly amounts to the value of her virginity, already paid for in the sum given for the abuse. It can, however, occur, and in effect it does occur, that the man /69/ ignores the past when he has a special affection or feels greatly attracted by the woman, in which case he pays the price asked without the afore-mentioned discount.

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/69 cont./

836 The virginity of the single woman is becoming very rare in La Guajira. Premarital relations have been occurring with greater frequency in recent years as a consequence of the social disintegration of this indigeneous group, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, among which stand out: the influence of the so-called white groups, among whom free union is common practice; emigration to regions such as Venezuela, where the Indian women break away from the norms of their ancestors and find an atmosphere which does not resent the sexual adventures of women but rather stimulates them; the scarcity and hunger in certain regions which push the inhabitants toward the urban centers of the peninsula, where the woman gives herself in exchange for the wherewithal to satisfy her vital needs of food and dress, an attitude which her relatives recognize and tolerate because, indirectly, it also helps them. 548 The premarital relations forced by circumstances or encouraged by them have been creating a social class of women which previously did not exist nor could fit within 563 her social organization: the prostitute. It must be noted that it is the mestizo woman (mixture of Indian with white or negro) who more easily takes this road.

Also one has to take into account the premature premarital relations that have always existed in La Guajira and which take 835 place between the girls and their brothers, and even their fathers, when the girls are about ten or more, when they go to the fields or the countryside in general and meet the boys who are devoting themselves to pasturing. (Cf. Chap. II.)

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836 558 178 The common type of furtive sexual relations of the adult woman causes her to drop in social esteem and particularly in that of the men, producing, indirectly, the phenomenon that virginity as a basis for marriage has become overvalued. Before, it was a fact that was logically expected as an essential, and the lack of this condition created social and psychic problems.

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836 558 178 Today this causes less repercussion, and the phenomena which were aroused in the society and the individual have become weakened. But by contrast, it /virginity/ is an object of greater search, and the man who is successful /70/ in finding a virgin bride publicizes it as an individual reason for prestige. Furthermore, men are complaining less and less when their wives have not come as virgins to the nuptial hammock, and they only make it the subject of satirical songs when they are drunk. That is to say, they take the matter more broadmindedly, giving it the character of an accomplished fact and almost to be expected.

684 Violation and rape. The payment for abuse is that which the Guajiro must pay for illicit sexual relations with an unmarried woman, being a material compensation for the improper use made of her and returning to the woman her position of respected spinster, with the possibility that another man will court her and buy her for himself, without the fact of the abuse weighing as a dishonor in her past or having any echo in the future. It is also the compensation to the maternal relatives of the woman for the material and moral offense of violation of a right. They receive this payment because, by not accepting it, they would lower their kinswoman, and through her all of the family, to the category of "a dog or a burro," with no one to make their rights valid, and in order to prevent others wishing to do the same thing to other women of the family, which would bring the prestige of the group to an end. Also, because the man made use of a right which he should have paid for beforehand, to compensate the woman's relatives for rearing her and for the social support they have given her. The payment covers two distinct aspects of different value: violation and rape.

684 839 In the first case, as it is considered that the woman has shown willingness in the act, only the abuse is taken into account. In the second, as force has been used, a compensation payment is demanded not only for abuse but for violation, specifying that the man used force and thereby humiliated the woman, made her dishonor and her physical weakness more obvious, and offended

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684 839 her maternal relatives by reducing them to the level of a conquered group whose women are the easy prey of any man as they have no one strong enough to back the claim for them. For this an increase in the payment is included as indemnity. Also, if when the assault took place the woman was injured, the payment is further increased because they also collect compensation payment for the spilling of blood, the common link of kinship and vital element of the body.

It frequently occurs in certain places where the economic differences between different groups are very pronounced, that when a young girl is in the period of seclusion and her relatives have had to leave her alone in her room to attend to work outside the house, rich Indians take advantage of the occasion to violate her. In such a case /71/ when the offended group obtains the backing of another group that is as strong as that of the offender's, the payment for abuse is very high, because in addition to the lowering of family prestige, they consider the value of the girl's seclusion and her isolation from men to have been lost, so placing her and her relatives on an inferior plane by not being able to comply in full with the traditional formalities usual in order to become a complete woman in the Guajiro sense. If the payment is not effected due to the inferiority and lack of backing of the offended group, one of the members of the clan, feeling the humiliation of his kinswoman, will wait for an opportunity to kill the culprit, but by doing so he will cause the destruction and exile of his family group.

684 It can happen, and it is very frequent at the present time, that a woman has received payment for successive abuses. The young girl, demoralized for various reasons, gives herself secretly to a man, an act which on becoming known leads to a claim for compensation payment. It may also come about that a woman comes to be bought as a wife after what has happened. As the young Guajiro woman considers it an honor to be bought rapidly and at a good price, she looks enviously at the luck of such women, and since she thinks that they owe it to their way she tries to do the same. This increases the frequency of the act, which in

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684 poor groups does not call for compensation payment as it is a distinct source of income, which compensates for a payment difficult to obtain and which necessitates invoking the force of the whole family group, usually very dispersed due to migration.

It must also be made clear that the payment demanded has a special character with regard to the amount, which should not reach or be equal to a marriage payment in normal times, because in that case the man could retain the woman as his own property. Also, this payment must come from the personal capital of the guilty individual as his relatives or friends will not be disposed to bring forward livestock or jewels to accept conduct not in accord with the legal norms of the peninsula. Also, this payment is not at all large, and in a certain sense it is a sanction against lack of control in conduct and a defense against the disintegration of the family, basis of the social structure.

We have to include in this section a payment which in a certain way covers the same conditions already described. It sometimes happens that a woman is sold by her relatives under agreement to pay in two installments. On paying the first, the man has free access to cohabit with her. But if the second installment is not paid up at the end of the stipulated time, the maternal relatives of the woman take her back with any children she might have had, the man losing his right to claim the amount already paid on account, /72/ as this sum is considered a payment for abuse although it may be a higher price than that established by custom.

We should note that the Guajiro, on paying the sum claimed as indemnity for transgression of the law of marriage, considers he has terminated all his relations, and he must again pay, if he reinitiates such relations, an amount equal or greater, according to what the young girl's relatives decide. If after the payment he wants to buy her as his wife, he can claim what he has paid for the abuse as an advance payment toward the marriage payment.

548 Prostitution. Guajiro law excludes the prostitute absolutely from their society. We have seen how on reaching adult age, the

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548 woman is submitted to the ceremonies of initiation in preparation for her future life, in order to enter society without the young girl's restrictions but with all the responsibilities of a young unmarried woman. During this time she is obliged to guard her chastity, as a condition which is valued in marriage, as we have seen in the section, Valuation of virginity and of the woman, in this chapter. We have also seen that the payment for abuse is no more than an economic reparation for the illegal use of a woman, who is considered to be the personal property of her relatives, and as indemnity for the loss of prestige of the woman and of her maternal relatives. It is not a payment for services but compensation to the relatives for the offense and abuse of property.

We said, furthermore, that if a man obtains a woman through purchase with a payment in two installments and he does not comply with the second, the woman is recovered by her relatives, the installment paid being converted into a payment for abuse; and that, if the woman cohabits with a man who has not bought her, their law obliges the man to pay for her as a wife or to separate himself from her after meeting the payment demanded.

Another proof that the prostitute has no place under Guajiro law is the fact that adultery is only considered in relation to the woman, and it carries the penalty of having to return to the husband the purchase price, the children of the marriage, and a payment for the offense; besides which the lover is obliged to pay to the husband whatever he demands, or to buy the woman in question and take her for his wife.

Finally, the woman on becoming widowed is not considered to be free but becomes the property of the heirs of the husband, so that, even then, she is not able to practice prostitution freely.

Summing up, the woman is considered as private property which can be acquired by purchase and which no one except the owner may enjoy or dispose of. She is always the private property of someone: when a young unmarried woman, of her

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548 maternal relatives; when married, of her husband; and if he dies, of his heirs. In case of adultery it is her lover who must pay to have legal right to her.

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Prostitution, which is continually growing in La Guajira, has many causes, which have developed rapidly in recent times, endangering all the social organization. The principal ones are:

548 567 627 Slavery. The /social/ organization in La Guajira has created for itself this class of social elements placed at the very margin of life. Its origin is in the clan groups which, when weakened by economic failure and the scarcity of male elements to strengthen them, have been slowly pushed to the margin /of society/. The murder, for example, of a member of a powerful group caused by a member of one of these groups spells its ruin. The law establishes in such cases a considerable payment to the maternal relatives of the murdered man by the clan group that is responsible for his death, a payment which has to be transacted in accordance with special forms which facilitate peaceful settlement between both parties and a reasonable time limit, at the termination of which both groups renew their peaceful relations and give proofs of new friendship, although in practice these appearances show themselves to be quite false. However, when the aggressor belongs to an inferior group, these negotiations are not followed out, as it would appear that added to the sorrow over the death [illegible] the offense of the crime having been perpetrated by a group without social standing, without prestige, and without sufficient means to pay the indemnity. "These people," say the offended ones, "who have no money to pay us for the grief they have caused us have no right either to a legal negotiation." They fall on the small group in overwhelming numbers like an avalanche, on their lands and their houses, leveling them to the ground without

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548 mercy, burning their homes with the occupants in them, destroying
567 the crops, filling up and poisoning the springs, carrying off
627 the few livestock and personal effects there may be about. The worst fate is suffered by the children and especially the women, old women, young women, and girls, who are carried off as trophies of war to pay with their service as slaves for the crime committed by their relative.

548 Although these women are not to be considered as true
567 prostitutes, their daughters are forced to suffer this illegal condition because, although they belong to their mother's master, they are strongly besieged by all the men, especially by those who have not yet been able to buy a wife and who will find /74/ satisfaction in them without economic or social responsibilities. The girls submit little by little to this situation, giving themselves to whoever gives them presents, and eventually become harlots. (Cf. Slavery and Bond Service.)

Furthermore, many of these girls are sold by their masters to be sent out of the peninsula (to Aruba, Maracaibo, Curaçao, Riohacha, etc.), but when they grow up they escape and, when it is possible for them, they return again to La Guajira, where the fate that awaits them is no better, for they have been placed, so to speak, outside the law, as they lack the two strong social bonds: land and blood. Hence, not possessing these, they are free, which is equivalent to being without protection. No one will take notice of what they do, but neither will anyone speak up for them to prevent their being the victims of force. They have no economic backing nor private means. Moreover, many of them have been started off in prostitution during their servitude. In the circumstances described, it is rare that they can raise themselves and manage to find a place again in a society that turned them out, so that they find themselves obliged to live on the margin of society, as also their offspring. In this way slavery creates the prostitute, a public property, something that does not fit within the legal norms, as we have seen throughout this chapter.

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548 566 Bond service. Bond service is different from slavery in that it is not the result of a conquest in war of one group by another, but rather the consequence of economic decline, since when a group cannot support its members, they sell them. Years ago large numbers were sold to Venezuela as farm hands to the Caribbean Islands, etc., and although the investment was never very safe, due to the escaping of the Indians, the sales were numerous, and even today they are very frequent. Furthermore, it is common practice at the present time in the Jarara region, short of resources in summer, to take the nephews and nieces of an individual who has been forced by necessity to commit robbery as bond servants to repay by their own labor what was stolen.

Women in this situation, separated from their group and unable to be helped by them, are coveted by the men. Those who are sent away, on their return, find themselves in a situation similar to that of slaves who have come back. They settle in the cities and turn to prostitution, as the whites find in them a simple solution of their problems, and they find a means of subsistence.

548 177 The mestizo. Cross breeding /mestizaje/ has not affected Guajiro culture in respect to the tradition regarding magic, language, organization, etc., but has had an effect on social morality, which /75/ is readily forsaken by the mestizo woman of lower class, commonly called cabeza loca ("madcap"), by the general run of Indians, owing to her sexual promiscuity, her easily becoming a prostitute and giving herself and living for certain periods of time with a man, (mestizo or white as a general rule) to leave him later to follow an endless chain. The pure-blooded Guajiro woman, even if she takes to prostitution, never abandons, from any motive, the established norms of modesty, [578] such as never to show herself naked, never to behave rowdily, etc., as there is no greater insult than that a man should affirm such things about her. The mestizo woman, however, does not respect these concepts. For this reason she is sought after more and more, and she freely and openly throws over the traditional

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548 177 limitations. We have said that this applies to the lower classes because the mestizo woman of the upper-class groups are as modest and conservative, or more so, than the pure Indians. The mestizo woman of lower class is not under the control of her maternal relatives, and for this reason there is no repressive power capable of making her submit to that which is right.

548 167 Geographic conditions. A natural phenomenon is basically the cause of prostitution in La Guajira: the long summers /dry season/ that the peninsula has suffered during the past five years, a period in which the winter seasons /rainy season/ have been nonexistent, so that neither stock breeding nor agriculture have been able to subsist and have dwindled to a minimum, so ruining the traditional economy of the population. The result is that the native, seeing himself without resources to live, migrates or succumbs through inanition, as we were able to observe during our stay in that region. In this state of affairs the native will go to Venezuela where he finds paid work which alleviates his situation and that of his relatives in the peninsula. Sometimes the women also migrate with their families.

When the men emigrate, the family groups lose their elements of support in difficult situations, and the women and children are left with diminished protection and control, that is to say, they depend on themselves. When the assistance from the men is limited, the families must live by any means they can, and they then feel the attraction of the /urban/ centers where they expect to be able to find the solution to their problem of making a living. They migrate, and their only opportunity is in prostitution. There the women begin a way of life foreign to their social organization, made easier by the absence of male relatives who would put a stop to that way of life, since by being absent they cannot present their claims for compensation payment, and, furthermore, they are, generally, unaware of this state of affairs. The married woman whose husband is absent over long periods, impelled by this same situation and her own sexual need, turns to prostitution without anyone /76/ to make the corresponding claim. Married

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548 167 and unmarried women come for periods from the country to the urban centers; they settle in shacks on the outskirts, live by easy virtue for a time to procure enough to purchase new robes and food, and return home until these provisions have been used up, when they again return to the centers and to the sex market.

548 434 167 In addition to the summers which have made the traditional economic life impossible, the situation is made more acute by the fact that provisions have to be brought in from the neighboring department of Magdalena, since of all that is consumed in the peninsula nothing can be grown there. But the contraband agricultural produce smuggled from this area to Maracaibo, where for various reasons they pay a higher price for these products, encourages the export of these from the country, so increasing the problem of hunger in La Guajira, as the cost of provisions rises and the trader, on his part, increases his price to cover what he considers his due as middleman. In this way the basic things required by the Guajiro, corn and panela, reach an exorbitant price, especially in the more remote places where the source of supply is in the hands of one trader.

548 167 Furthermore, the woman finds few sources of income in the centers. Only those women of upper La Guajira /La Alta Guajira/ who have been educated in the Capuchin mission can work different kinds of woven cloth which find acceptance in the markets of Maracaibo and in the department of Magdalena. Practically no one wants to work in domestic service because their natural independence unsuits them to accommodate themselves to the demands. Some collect divi-divi in season, others help their husbands in the saltworks, but there the wages paid are so low that they are almost worthless and not encouraging.

Having little to occupy themselves with, their domestic work being reduced to a minimum, they pass the time in incredible idleness, gossiping among themselves, lying in their hammocks, and in the evenings going into the urban centers, if they live near by, to offer themselves to the natives of the civilizados /nonnatives, see below/ who at that hour are leaving their work.

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Another of the aspects in which emigration influences prostitution among the Guajiro women is that when they, alone or with their husbands and their relatives, go to Venezuela, they usually settle in Maracaibo and other centers in the state of Zulia, where the civilizado element looks on the Guajiro woman as a coveted solution to their sex problems. Various causes influence this outlook: The women have no effective protection, they are healthy and easily seduced with cheap presents which they overvalue in their poverty; also, they are nearly always looked down on as inferior, as belonging to the lowest social level. This pursuit of the women for sexual purposes is so intense that the story is told of /77/ girls arriving in Maracaibo in the morning who have by afternoon received attractive offers before which they have succumbed. The missionaries endeavor to intervene, but it is useless; the cajolery and promises are more attractive than good advice and the training of their childhood and youth. When they are not public prostitutes they are bought, according to Guajiro law, by married Venezuelan men and are thus partially introduced into that society in the role of concubines until they are repudiated at the whim of their masters.

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In addition to these reasons, the women see the apparently advantageous situation that their friends and relatives have acquired for themselves, and they think that what they have to lose is not so much when compared with the resulting benefits. The poverty they have suffered at home in their own country and the promise of an easy solution overcomes the resistance of the most reluctant. Furthermore, their friends are the first to advise them to take the step. Guajiro law is so far away it seems they are beyond its reach, and they cannot weigh the disastrous consequences of this life except from their own and immediate point of view. All these combined causes lead the Guajiro woman who migrates on the road to prostitution, which unavoidably happens sooner or later, and she will not afterward return to the normal life of her /family/ group.

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The civilizado /civilized/ element. A civilizado accord-
548 ing to the Guajiro concept is one who does not belong to their
648 community or the mestizo who has adopted a culture different from
theirs. The classification covers people on the Atlantic coast both Columbian and Venezuelan (negroid for the most part) and some other white or mestizo groups in the interior of Columbia.

This civilizado element puts the native on an inferior plane not only where their material culture is concerned, which they despise, but also their spiritual aspect. They look with compassion and curiosity at the manifestations of this and find them difficult to accept. They regard them as savages, and they respect them only because they are strong. This has provoked in the native a feeling of suspicion and misgiving in all that is dear to him, and he has become resentful to a point that he hopes to find a similar failing in the white man in order to reproach him with it.

The cultural norms of a social and moral aspect that they receive from the civilizado are precisely what lead to the systematic destruction of their organization. Generally, the white men who go to La Guajira are men who have to be absent from their families for various reasons, and they find the solution for their biological needs in the Guajiro woman. Their temporary residence there will not permit them (as it might when they make it their permanent home) to buy a girl for a wife, because the price is high for their small means, and it would cause /78/ problems with their own families, so that a man of this type solves the situation by making an easy arrangement with an Indian woman, who gives herself to him in return for presents or a money payment on each occasion.

The Guajiro woman who has emigrated from her district sooner or later returns home and finds in the peninsula a propitious medium for the life she began when away, because beside finding it difficult to obtain a legitimate source of income, her prime needs continually demand immediate satisfaction.

/78 cont./

Consequences. The consequences that prostitution has brought
548 to Guajiro society are various: The first and decisive one is the
177 almost absolute wreck of the social organization due to the
destruction of marriage, the mainstay of social life based on the
purchase of a woman, who by this transaction becomes the private
property of the man in the matrimonial sense. If she is unfaithful
there arise the claim for compensation payment and the whole
series of consequences which we have seen previously, all tending
to preserve conjugal fidelity. On the woman's turning to
prostitution, the legal norms which establish that marriage payment
and the very constitution of the family become useless as
it erases the essential character of the family: i.e., procreation.
There is an end to the principle of the establishment of new social
cells and fecundation takes second place. It is the biological
satisfaction that is sought, not the procreation of children, a
phenomenon which constitutes a grave social problem for, although
many people accept contraceptives, others through
ignorance or thoughtlessness on the part of the man do not use
them, and the natural consequences of pregnancy are not long
delayed. Then they have recourse to all the abortives they know
[847] of empirically, using the herbs whose active qualities are claimed
by the old women of the Sierra de Macuira, or those they have
traditionally learned from their ancestors, or they ask the
assistance of a woman practiced in these matters, who for a fee
provokes the abortion by traumatic massage on the abdomen of
the pregnant woman and keeps the secret.

Besides abortives, the Guajiro woman uses potions of herbs
848 which sterilize her for a time, up to three years, without stopping
menstruation, and others which interrupt the menstrual cycle for
long periods with the result that her sexual relations do not lead
to pregnancy. She even appeals to magic to get this result, for
example, by drinking, while fasting, a potion made from mule's
[237] excrement left to soak overnight and then decanted. They believe
that as this animal is sterile so will the woman who imbibes
the preparation.

/79/

518 177 Furthermore, doing away with marriage by payment destroys with it the family backing which, in the economic sense, means as much to the woman, the man, and the children as to the maternal relatives through the system of payments, repayments, and compensations that are consequent on it. Above all, the woman loses the social and economic backing of her group, and the man the guarantee of her fidelity.

The woman who has migrated and has taken to this way of life while outside her native land, or who has accepted it in her own homeland, usually will not return to the country, or if she does it is only to live there while she spends the money she has earned, to return later and resume her trade. Today prostitution is a menace to all La Guajira. Young Indians who have not been able to obtain a wife or simply anyone who wants sexual satisfaction will find it with a Guajiro woman by means of a casual payment, [164] and with prostitution has come a new scourge for the Guajiro: venereal diseases, brought and spread by those who have acquired it in their relations with the civilizados. Ignorance on the part of the prostitute of hygienic precepts which would free her from these ills has resulted in the disease increasing dangerously. [757] Moreover, there exists in the peninsula no clinic where the native can go for treatment, and there is only one doctor and a poorly equipped hospital in Uribía. Hence, prostitution has aided, and still aids, not only social bankruptcy by the wreck of the institution of the family but also physical degeneration by the unrestricted spreading of venereal diseases among the youth of the country.

Outfit and dowry of the woman. When a Guajiro woman is 583 bought the family gives her the inheritance, in livestock, which is hers by right. These gifts go to her in accordance with her social standing and with the amount of the marriage payment, because this establishes the prestige of the maternal relatives. They know that a man who has paid dearly for his wife expects that she has not cost so much just for the sake of the marital satisfactions she may give him, or for her known high social status, but that in her price there will be included an inheritance handed over to the bride for life and at this time. He could not

/79 cont./

583 understand that she would have such a price for only the two things mentioned, and if the woman were not well dowered with livestock and jewels, he would pass the word around among his friends with detriment to the prestige of the girl's relatives, that she, his wife, cost a high price but had nothing, which is equivalent in Guajiro society to a fraud, as we know that the traditional norm of social conduct is based on each group surpassing the other. For this reason the maternal relatives /80/ of the bride take up a combined collection of livestock, in order to present it and numerous jewels and dresses, so that in this way she may appear before her husband without loss of prestige when compared with his relatives. These gifts she receives from her maternal uncles, and the jewelry, usually, is presented to her by her maternal aunts and female cousins.

The care of these animals generally is the responsibility of the husband. He pastures and looks after them with his own and those of his sons, but it may happen that the wife's relatives, if the husband is a drunkard or spendthrift, will take charge of them personally to avoid mismanagement.

With respect to the household equipment, the only contribution that the husband makes is the hammock, which he buys from the woman's mother, a purchase and which includes as well the right to cohabit with his wife after its purchase. The rest of the household goods are the responsibility of the woman, who at first, as she lives with her relatives, uses their utensils but slowly starts collecting her own for the time when she establishes her own home or when the needs of the growing family oblige her to do so. She buys the pottery, by barter usually, from the pottery makers of Jarara, who at fixed times travel through the peninsula with their goods; she sets up looms and with these makes the hammocks for her children and those required for visitors. For the rest of the utensils, simple as they are, she uses coconut shells and gourds, with which she makes plates, bowls, spoons, tobacco containers, etc. She and her daughters make bags by different processes, using imported

/80 cont./

583 thread or spinning and dyeing cotton. They bring in logs, which serve as seats, they make the harness for the burros and horses. In other words, in some places the woman tries to become self-sufficient, and in other places, according to the established division of labor, she sells whatever she makes and with the proceeds buys the food, clothes, and utensils she may need in the home; or more simply she relies on barter to gain her object.

The problem is different in the case of mestizos, if the
583 marriage is not carried out under Guajiro law, and in that of
177 whites who have married Guajiro women in accordance with the
rite established for the community. In both cases the man provides, besides the house, all that is essential for the home such as furniture and domestic utensils according to the custom of *civilizados* /nonnatives/, and later, as they wear out, he substitutes new ones. With respect to the dowry, we may say that the man may take charge of his wife's animals, if she so wishes, but he may not arbitrarily dispose /81/ of them. The capital acquired between them is the inheritance of their children, as we have seen. It does not devolve, as in Guajiro practice, to its original source (the wife's maternal relatives). Since he did not make a marriage payment, it is up to the man to shoulder the responsibility and provide for all the necessities of the home. /83/ /page 82 is blank/

V

MARRIAGE

583
436 *Purchase procedure*. The traditional Guajiro marriage is brought into being through the purchase of the woman from her maternal relatives, payment being made in animals and ornaments and, at the present time, in bolivars because of the influence of trade with Venezuela.

/83 cont./

583 Generally, the girl's family is advised by the suitor's relatives that they will come to buy her. The man, on his part, has requested his most influential maternal uncle, or one who is considered a "cacique," to go in company with his mother and other friends to arrange the purchase of the girl of his choice. They arrive dressed in their best and receive the most generous hospitality from the girl's relatives. They hand over as a sign of the engagement the so-called "prendas /"ornaments"/," which [301] are necklaces of gold set with tuma stones (1), the value and number of which depend on the economic strength of the suitor, going all the way up to ten in persons of the highest standing, especially when the man is acquiring his first wife, who as we have seen is the principal one.

If the girl's relatives see that the marriage is an advantageous one, they accept the gifts. If they do not accept them, this [578] indicates a definite refusal and rarely occurs, since it implies contempt which could give rise to serious differences between the groups concerned. Once the necklaces are handed over, the spokesman for the bridegroom offers to buy the girl, and the girl's maternal relative of most authority replies, fixing the price, [554] which generally is equal to that paid by the girl's father for her mother; often they get a higher price, which increases their prestige. They argue for a short time until they arrive at an arrangement between them as to the price and the basis of payment. Then the young man's relatives leave to tell him of the arrangement made, which he respects and accepts without making any kind of objection, and he gets ready to pay the payment agreed upon in order to obtain his wife. /84/.

556
583 Payment in cows. The number of heads of livestock that a man has shows his economic position and through this his status in the family group and in the whole community, because stock

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1. A mineral quartz used as a precious stone.

/84 cont./

556 raising is the basic occupation of the Guajiro wherever the soil
583 permits of agriculture during certain times of the year. The worth of a woman is similarly determined. She aspires to be paid for in cows, which show that her physical, spiritual, and social qualities are being adequately paid for, that her traditional rank and the power of her kin is justly valued, that the education that she has received at puberty is appreciated, that her standing as a married woman is going to be maintained adequately, and that her children will have an identical valuation, which means that her social status will be improved.

The Guajiro woman is so eager to be paid for in cows that the lower-class women (we do not know if the higher class do also) resort to an act of magic to help achieve this and, an act consisting of burying their hair when they cut it under cow dung.

583 *Ways of paying*. Paying for the woman entails the right to take her as a wife and can be effected in the following ways: When the man is rich, he hands over the purchase price in one payment, a sign of personal prestige which indicates his own economic capacity and that of his group, who do not need to make a large payment in installments. This makes the bride's relatives very proud because it shows they have made an alliance with a group of power and prestige.

But the most commonly used system allows two payments: the first, on a day agreed upon before the marriage, and the other, some time later. The first payment, as we have seen, confers the right of matrimony. On the due date the livestock arrive, driven by the servants of the bridegroom's maternal family and accompanied by the uncles who arranged the purchase of the woman. These make a ceremonious handing over of the livestock in order to put their payment on record. Then it is the turn of the bride's maternal relatives to comply with all the duties of hospitality, the warmth of which is in direct relation to the size of the payment and, above all, to their standing. If the bridegroom's relatives arrive early with the livestock, the *arágrash* (the eldest man of the family) orders a small bull killed

/84 cont./
583 and offers them hospitality in his own house. The small bull,
the best of the herd, serves to make a special dish and is also
divided among those who have come so that each takes with him
a good portion, /85/ the higher the guest's standing the better
the piece. In the afternoon they return home. If they come to
make the payment in the evening, then the attentions are
[273] different. They must have a great quantity of chicha made of
masticated corn and yucca, which is accompanied by pieces of
meat and bollos /corn rolls/. The bridegroom's companions
sleep in the bride's house and leave at dawn after breakfast,
for which an animal is slaughtered, the meat of which is distributed among the visitors.

In the first case when women attend, they must each be presented with the gift of a goat or a sheep to take home with them; in both cases there must be an abundant quantity of rum for the men.

The bridegroom does not come at this time either, but when he wants to make the girl his wife, he brings more cattle (ten cows when the girl is of high standing), which he hands over to the mother in payment for the matrimonial hammock; with this payment he has fulfilled the final requirements for access to his bride, who awaits him in a neighboring house, and there they hang up their matrimonial hammock, which serves them as a marriage bed.

Sociological significance of the marriage payment. Through
the payment the matrimonial tie is strengthened and its legal
organization is passed on to the descendants of the new family
cell. Thus the laws of inheritance are structured by it: The man
[428] pays for his wife with the co-operation of his relatives, and for
this reason the children, who belong to the mother's blood, are
deprived of the right to inherit the father's goods at his death,
because they are not consanguineous relatives, and, moreover,
the mother and her maternal relatives received the purchase
price. The children take the surname of their mother, a further
[551] proof of their bond with the maternal clan, in which they find
all the economic and social backing they need.

/85 cont./

583 Furthermore, the marriage payment includes a compensation for the care the woman received during her life in the family and the obligations that her group will incur in taking charge of the children of the marriage. And in relation to the lands, it permits the husband and his relatives the usufruct of the land belonging to the woman, where from then on they are permitted to pasture their livestock, cultivate the soil, and establish their home. In this way the right over the land of a certain family group is extended to others, and at the same time, the woman's relatives acquire identical rights in respect to the land of the husband and his maternal group; the children they have in the marriage have rights over both. /86/

The payment is also the regulator of conjugal relations and is in a way the yardstick by which the man measures the virginity of the woman when he marries her, on the one hand (cf. Chap. IV, section on Valuation of virginity and of the woman), and on the other, the fidelity to him she must maintain according to Guajiro law.

583 684 It is in this question of fidelity that the marriage payment plays a predominant part. With the roving life of the Guajiro Indian due to his occupation as a nomadic herder who looks for water and grass for his livestock and now migrates to Venezuela for long periods of time, the assurance of his wife's faithfulness rests on this payment. During his long absences his wife generally lives with her relatives, who feel themselves obliged to watch her surreptitiously and give an account of her conduct to the man, and even more they feel responsible to him for her actions, for if her infidelity is proved, the payment must be returned to him who paid it to them, confident in the honor of his wife and counting on the backing of his in-laws. This prevents all right of protest from them and requires immediate and effective repayment, for otherwise the offended husband might kill his wife's lover, and with that the relatives of the guilty woman would find themselves involved in a death compensation payment since she was the cause. In such a case the maternal relatives of the adulterous

/86 cont./

583 684 woman are at the mercy of the offended husband's demands: return of the animals he gave as payment for the woman and the giving up of the children conceived in the marriage, plus an additional payment as compensation for the insult received. As the children belong to the maternal relatives, to have them taken away is a terrible disgrace, and for this he /the injured husband/ accepts in lieu of them further indemnification in animals, and they hand over one /of the children/.

583 The payment made for the woman also serves as a controlling factor on the general conduct of the wife, preventing her from leaving her home and obligations while her husband is away.

On the other hand, the payment regulates the relations of the man to the woman, because if he subjects her to bad treatment, and this treatment forces her to leave him, then the man is dispossessed of his right over her, because she cannot be obliged to live with him if he has made her life unbearable, and furthermore neither does it give him the right to present a claim for compensation payment for her leaving her home and obligations, which in the other case, as we have seen, implies the return of the amount handed over for her purchase.

The payment that the man makes to the woman's maternal relatives gives him a proprietary right over her as if she were /87/ chattel, in a way, because if, for example, the woman is coveted by another man who wants to buy her, the two -- husband and would-be-buyer -- may come to some arrangement, through intermediaries (if the woman is not of a high class or a first wife) to make a deal, the husband, in exchange for the wife, receiving a payment which is nearly always less than he gave for her originally, taking into consideration the use he has made of her in sexual relations and the children they have had. This second husband may sell her to a third, and so on successively. This usually occurs when a married woman goes off with somebody and lives with him, in view of which the husband resolves to make a claim against the lover, who, accepting it, accepts also the transference of the right of a legitimate spouse. This system,

/87 cont./

583 then, allows the transference of a woman from one man to another like any domestic animal and also the easy conversion of an illegal relationship to a legal one by paying for the woman.

But where the payment plays the most important social part
583 -- if we consider the different social classes found in La Guajira
565 -- is in the fixing of the social status of each woman and her descendants.

The status of a clan group rests on the marriage value of its women. This valuation dates back to distant times and has been transmitted from mother to daughter. For this reason the Guajiro when speaking of the price of a woman says: A free Guajiro woman is worth as much as her mother cost, and the latter had the same price as her grandmother. This is why payment for a woman has such enormous importance in her life and why, when she comes out of seclusion, all her attention and interest is concentrated on one thing: to be bought well, which amounts to finding someone who values her as she should be valued. It is also for this reason that white people cannot understand the pride with which a Guajiro woman relates that she was bought very dearly or that more cows were given for her than for some other woman. In the number of these heads of livestock is the valuation of her standing and the recognition that she belongs to the rich Guajiro class of better status. Hence she resorts to every kind of magic within her power to be bought well, to find a man who, paying for her what was paid for her mother, establishes her status, or paying even more, he being rich, raises her standing immediately by recognizing her personal qualities which make her worthy of such an increase; for if a woman cannot be bought (in normal times in her clan group) for less than the price paid for her mother, she can, on the contrary improve her standing through a higher price. In this way, the daughters born to the couple will be more expensive; that is to say, their status will have advanced as compared with /88/ that of their grandmother; and the man, if it is true that he has made an investment greater than he was legally obliged to, has increased his prestige, by having acquired

/88 cont./

583 for himself a woman who was worth so much; also his outlay will
565 be compensated by the payment he will receive for the first
daughter who marries, which will be identical with what he paid
for her mother.

583 Another interesting point is the regulating aspect the payment
has on the moral and social conduct of a woman before marriage,
since it obliges her indirectly to accept and comply with all the
determined ethical and social norms, without which her value as
a future wife would go down. For example, when the woman
belongs to a high class, she must not accept proposals to elope
with a man who loves her but who lacks sufficient money to buy
her. This is allowed, however, in women of a lower social class
who have no standing to lose, where there is not sufficient force
to back the claims their relatives might make, and where their
value as wives is not constant but varies, depending almost always on the financial capacity of the buyer and very often on the
economic situation at the moment. In summer /the dry season/,
for example, things get so bad in these lower classes that a woman
can be bought for a little corn.

These facts give rise to a certain stabilization of the existing
582 difference of status, for the women of high class can only be
bought by men of the same or better position, which limits in this
way the possibilities of acquiring a rich woman and prevents high-class family groups being mixed with poor groups or those of a
lesser social standing.

A woman who wants to maintain her standing cannot run away
593 with a man and be paid for later. This implies that the man, after
a time, if he is not satisfied, can repudiate her for this act alone,
paying only for having abused her, which, if of little importance
to a woman of low social standing, is definitely very important
for one of high standing. Also, if the compensation claim is not
met peacefully or if the payment is not made, war may be provoked between her group and that of her husband, and all the
consequences fall on her. It can also happen that the man, in view
of the accomplished fact, may wish to take advantage of a

/88 cont./
983 situation favorable to himself and only pay for her a sum much lower than that stipulated by tradition, which is what generally happens and which is why the woman's relatives are extremely upset, since some other Guajiro might abuse any other of their women with impunity, because he considers their men incapable of making him /89/ pay what is due. When this happens the clan becomes demoralized, its women are not respected, and, in a word, the prestige of the group deteriorates considerably.

Distribution of the woman's marriage payment. Given the clan family organization so extensive in La Guajira, which we shall see in detail further on, the payment (livestock, jewelry, etc.) which is received on the sale of a girl in marriage falls into various hands. In the first place, what is received as marriage payment for the first girl who marries depends entirely on the father, since the amount at which she is valued is the same that he paid for her mother; she represents the return that the law allows him, after a long interval, for the investment he made when he bought the girl's mother. He receives this payment, but it does not become entirely his since, as he received help from his family group, he must repay this help in proportion to what he received, until he has satisfied all and each of those who co-operated at the time he bought his wife. If they are dead he must give their shares to their legitimate heirs.

The necklace which is given as a sign of the engagement of this first daughter goes to the paternal grandmother, as it was she who had to hand it /one?/ over as approbation of the proposed purchase /of the girl's mother? -- Ed./.

The payment for the second daughter goes to the mother's family and is distributed among them according to their kin relationship; first to the mother and most influential maternal uncle, who bears a large part of the responsibility of the family and is considered as father; later to the other people, not forgetting the head of the extended family group, the so-called "cacique," from whom they receive help when a son is getting married, for a wake, etc., although the kin relationship on many occasions is distant.

/89 cont./

583 They also send a part to the most friendly neighbors who have marriageable daughters, because they hope that when one of these marries the present will be amply repaid. It is customary when they are distributing the marriage payment, if they have friends who have no daughters, for them to send them nothing, because they say: "Those people have no daughters and so they will never be able to return our gift."

The goods obtained from the sale of the other daughters who marry go to the maternal patrimony, although, as we have seen, the bridegroom's relatives participate because a goat or a sheep is presented to each of the women who intervene in the handing over of the animals. The necklaces which are given on betrothal are for the girl's mother, who in /90/ turn must supply one to each of her sons when they become engaged to be married.

Moreover, there is a special payment which is always made to the mother of the bride, and this is for the matrimonial hammock made by her. Generally, the price is ten cows in rich families, and when this payment is made, which is done personally by the bridegroom to his mother-in-law, it signifies that he is going to take possession of the woman he has bought; and she is then indirectly handed over to him, since the place (a neighboring room) is pointed out where he will find the hammock and the woman who will be his wife. This payment gives him the right to the conjugal bed and to cohabit with the woman whom he has bought and must be paid to the mother, partly because she made the hammock and partly because she brought up her daughter, bearing all the costs of rearing her and educating her. No one else shares in this amount.

When a female bond servant or slave is getting married, the product of the sale goes to her master exclusively, without having 567 to be shared with anyone, first because the price is low, and 422 second because the ownership of a slave or a bond servant is individual.

When the marriage payment has been arranged to be paid in installments and the second of these is not forthcoming in the

/90 cont./

583 stipulated time, the woman's family takes her back again without any claims allowed from the man. But if some time later the man wants to pay what is owing, he enters into conversation with his affinal relatives who, once they have received the necessary amount, hand his wife back to him.

The distribution of payments obtained through different forms of marriage other than the traditional one will be seen as they are studied in detail.

Payment for childbirth and pregnancy. Apart from the price
583 of the woman the man must pay, whether the relationship is legal
262 or illegal, for the inconveniences caused by pregnancy and delivery. This payment is made in cows or other animals to the woman's family, who can use these animals for slaughter or sell them or include them in the family herd. But the woman may not eat the flesh of these animals which are given in payment for the troubles she suffered during pregnancy, for the blood she spilled, and for the pains she bore during delivery, because they represent a payment of her very being and are identified with her. To eat them would be almost like eating her own flesh or something similar, and for this reason she cannot have any part of them, either directly or indirectly. /91/

Marriage before puberty. At the present time a man contracts
583 marriage for the first time when he has obtained his economic
582 emancipation when he is about nineteen. His subsequent marriages are the result of his inclination and the opportunities he may have to buy other women.

As a general rule, women marry when they have passed puberty and the period of seclusion. However, a very general custom existed, and to some extent still exists, in regions which because of their geographical situation were inaccessible to the white man and the missionary, but now tends to disappear: the purchase of impuberal girls about ten years old (who have not yet developed physically nor passed through the traditional ceremonies of seclusion) by rich Indians, already old, who have a considerable number of wives. These old men pay a price which

/91 cont./

583 satisfies the girl's parents, who, attracted by the economic possi-
bilities of their future son-in-law, arrange the marriage without
582 consulting the wishes of the impuberal child, although they some-
times try to persuade her, making her see the advantageous situation
such a marriage may ensure. The girl in many cases has a child
before her first menstruation appears.

It is said in La Guajira that old men practice this custom because they derive more sexual incentive from young and undeveloped feminine figures, and this prolongs their masculine potency.

583 Marriage of Guajiro women with civilizados. With very few
177 exceptions intermarriage is carried out between Indians and
civilizados /nonnatives/. It is of two kinds, temporary and permanent, in accordance with the length of stay of the civilizado man in the peninsula and is nearly always limited to the Guajiro law of marriage by purchase of the woman.

The temporary marriages consist of unions established between traders or civil or military authorities who must stay some time in the peninsula, having come alone and finding in the purchase of a native woman the solution of their personal problems. They live with the woman they have bought, adapting themselves to the norms of life in La Guajira, and have children who, according to legal tradition, do not belong to them. As their obligation to their family is so limited and the maternal relatives have continued to give backing to the woman, they can go away at any moment, as indeed they do, without altering the life of the home that they founded, because the woman has not been uprooted, as in the case of a Catholic marriage, from her social institutions nor her relatives, who, once the marriage is dissolved /92/ by the definite absence of the white element, take her back again into their midst. The woman continues to sustain the family and bring it up under the protection and counsel of her maternal relatives, since very frequently nothing is ever again heard of the father. Sometimes they marry again or live with another man.

Permanent marriages are effected with civilizado men who, having definitely settled in the country, sometimes decide to get

/*92* *cont.*/

583 177 married in the Catholic church or to buy a woman (usually one with standing) and found a home, which in the first case shows signs of the predominance of the father's culture and in the second is much nearer the customs and usages of themother, by whom it is much more directly influenced due to the form of marriage. The children conceived /in the marriage/ are legally recognized in the case of the Catholic marriage and very frequently are sent to the interior of the country to be educated. In the case of the Guajiro form of marriage, the children belong to the mother and her consanguineous relatives, whose surname they take.

Temporary marriages may be due to the fact that the women belong to a group of low status and are sold by their parents because they are in a desperate economic situation. For this reason it is not unusual for a white man to have several wives, as many as he can buy and support. We know that the woman who has been bought must furnish the home, but this is not the custom when she marries a white man, for in spite of the payment the *civilizado* man must make himself responsible for the proper maintenance of his wife and children in shelter, food, and clothes.

These material advantages make it possible and frequent for one to find young Guajiro women married to decrepit old men who can give them a comparatively comfortable home, which they share with their relatives, who find a solution for their economic difficulties in unions of this kind.

The problem of these marriages lies in the fact that the woman consents only because of hunger, and when the opportunity presents itself for her to give way to her affection for someone else or to satisfy her instincts, she easily abandons her *civilizado* husband and runs away with her lover, far away from any action her husband may try to take, whose claims are usually ignored by her consanguineous relatives, to whom he has made the marriage payment, because they know that the white man has neither a powerful group nor the Colombian law to back him. Once the *civilizado* leaves La Guajira, the runaway pair legitimize their union, contracting marriage through a payment which the man can make anew to the girl's parents.

/93/

583 177 Permanent marriages take place generally between women of standing and whites of recognized influence, and they are more stable. The conduct of the woman and her relatives is in accord with the rank of her husband, and he on his part maintains toward his wife a certain courtesy and gives her the good treatment she deserves as a person of high status. In these cases it is not unusual that the woman has been bought in accord with Guajiro legal tradition and that the marriage lasts; but frequently it is ratified later in the Catholic church, or both forms were used from the first moment.

177 595 849 It is possible, also, that the white man, following Guajiro custom and in spite of his Catholic marriage, has other wives of lower status than the first, who always keeps the rank of legitimate wife in our sense and on whom depends the social representation of the children, the only heirs of the father and of the home, legal center of the family. The other women, although bought according to Guajiro law, acquire more or less the rank of concubines in our culture, and their children, the position of illegitimate ones. Catholic missionary influence and relations with whites have made the Indian come to regard his form of marriage as a little immoral. For this reason they now say when speaking of a Guajiro woman married with the rites of their culture: "She is So-and-so's woman," and the woman who has been married by Catholic rite says: "I am So-and-so's wife." Thus when one asks a Guajiro woman, for example, "Where is your husband?", one must be careful to use the right word for husband /marido/ or spouse /esposo/, using the first word in the case of a marriage according to peninsula rites and the second in the case of a Catholic marriage, the word "marido" being considered offensive when improperly used. As a consequence of this fact, the concept of legitimate and illegitimate children has sprung up, a concept which has no place in primitive Guajiro law. A child even though born as the result of illicit relations is a child without adjectives, either of scorn or contempt. In such cases the mother has received by force through her relatives the payment for her abuse and the

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177 birth in such a way that they are never placed outside the pale of
595 the law. This may be due to the uterine line of kinship in which
918 the father does not count in the recognition of children.

In these cases of marriage between whites and Guajiro women there also occurs a union of these two ideas. The white man
583 refuses to buy the woman or legitimize their union through the necessary traditional proceedings demanded by her culture. The refusal to comply with the main traditional requisite makes the man unacceptable, and he is considered an intruder.

The children, illegitimate /94/ according to the paternal mentality, meet a natural reluctance among their mother's relatives, who however in the long run have to accept them.

Consanguineous marriage. Although the Guajiro community
582 is in an obvious process of disintegration, there is a characteristic which is strongly maintained: exogamy, which, at the present time, does not mean the prohibition of marriage within the same clan group, but within a limited circle of close consanguineous kin: brothers /and sisters, hermanos/, uncles /and aunts, tíos/, and ascendants in the female line. Thus today in La Guajira we find marriages between individuals of the same clan, since the tie has weakened so much that although they belong to the same clan group, they do not consider themselves relatives.

If the marriage takes place within the small family circle, the opinion of society and of the relatives is never favorable. They cannot explain why nor wish to accept that an individual should marry a consanguineal kin included among those just mentioned. Their magical beliefs reinforce this, because these beliefs establish the prohibition that a man must not marry a relative, or he will be come bald.

582 Guajiro mentality cannot accept as natural the marriage of
596 a woman to her maternal uncle. This would be incest at its worst, because the maternal uncle has the position that a father has with us. There was a case, and a similar attitude has always been observed in like cases, of a Guajiro girl who had sexual relations with her maternal uncle. After pregnancy became

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582 581 evident, a Catholic missionary married them according to the Catholic ritual. This act seemed a crime to the natives; that a Guajiro woman should be legally married to her maternal uncle was impossible to understand. Rumors and a kind of social vacuum began to surround the pair, and even threats, to the point that, seeing life was becoming impossible for them among their own people, they abandoned all they possessed and migrated to a distance, where there would be no Guajiro who knew their story, in order that they might not have to put up with the social situation which their illegal conduct toward their traditions had provoked.

582 The pure Guajiro is the one who preserves in its most extreme form the principles of exogamy among the different family groups. Mestizo men, educated and influenced by the kinship principles followed by whites, reduce the wideness of the scope of this prohibition against the marriage of individuals within the same clan and marry /95/ female first cousins in the maternal line, defying the natural revulsion of the Indians who still consider such unions incestuous.

835 We must note again that it is not rare for girls before puberty to cohabit with their own brothers (in the Guajiro sense) and with their father, naturally without pregnancy as a consequence, but with the loss of their virginity. Guajiro mythology contains a [773] story of a girl who, having become pregnant by her own father, *overcome by her physical condition* and the social ostracism which her action had provoked, hanged herself, thus establishing this type of suicide as a means of a woman's doing away with herself when her wishes are opposed, especially in cases where she is obliged to marry a man whom she dislikes or in circumstances similar to those in the story.

These incestuous sexual relations are frequent in nearly every part of La Guajira. They happen when little girls go from one settlement to another carrying a message or to the woods in search of the pack animals or of fruit, at the same time that the boys are there looking after the livestock. Usually these relations cannot be considered as a violation, as the girls consent willingly, a state

/95 cont./

835 of affairs of which we could find no evidence after puberty and the seclusion had taken place. It appears that the only case we can quote is the one referred to above and which is preserved in the traditional lore.

583 Catholic marriage. Guajiro marriage is the basis of all the legal organization of the peninsula, because in it, represented by the marriage payment, are concentrated all economic life and social laws. For these reasons Catholic marriage encounters much opposition on the part of the native and causes a series of problems for those who contract it.

The first of these is that such a marriage is done outside of the family social organization and leaves whoever contracts it dependent on their own efforts to confront the social collectivity of the peninsula. We shall see why: If contracting a Catholic marriage means for the woman that her relatives do not receive the customary payment as recompense for bringing her up and as a backing in the future for her and her desendants, the system of mutual aid between consanguineous groups which demands repayment at some future date, will create a very difficult situation for her father as an active member of the clan, since, on not receiving money for the first daughter that marries, he cannot comply with the system of repayment and mutual help, which his relatives then resent and which diminishes his prestige, since it was with this payment that he expected to pay the debts he incurred when he bought his wife. /96/

The woman who marries according to the Catholic rite also encounters another series of problems with her consanguineous group: Her husband, although legal, is an intruder and the direct cause of all the troubles which overtake them. It is difficult for them to tolerate him because, besides being the person who separated their relative from her consanguineous ties, it was he who obliged her to break with all legal tradition, putting them all in a secondary role. He acquires, then, the standing of a lover, because they feel that such a marriage is as illegal as is having a concubine in our culture. He has acquired a wife without paying for her and for this reason is considered to have usurped a right

/96 cont./

583 which legally belonged to her consanguineous relatives. With this refusal to pay, he has destroyed the standing of the woman, since it is the size of the payment which fixes this, and this denominator of her family now does not exist. This lowers her consanguineous relatives, the bitterest insult to the Indian, for whom the conservation of prestige, its strengthening and increase, is a permanent concern and a rule of life. It puts them in the position of a weak group in which their daughter has been abducted without having received the corresponding payment. They await a similar situation for the descendants of the couple since they, with only the backing of their father and mother, must face all hazards that present themselves, without counting on the economic and social help of their relatives.

[595] Furthermore, although the man may marry in the Catholic church, this does not mean for the woman that her husband is going to be monogamous, because he will live as suits him best, buying all the other wives he wants according to the peninsula system, without taking into account that the first marriage prohibits him from having other women.

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177 Catholic marriage, which presents itself as one of the best ways to achieve the acculturation of the Indians, his passage to *civilization, and his definitive incorporation into Colombian life* is now beginning to be gradually accepted and in this way is breaking down the old matrilineal clan organization. It contains various outstanding facts which radically transform the traditional customs. We shall see some of these:

a) The preparation of the home, which in the traditional Guajiro marriage is the woman's responsibility, in the Catholic marriage is entirely the man's, even to the house itself. We know that the payment which the man gives for his wife is made so that the wife and her maternal relatives can take over these /domestic/ obligations. There being no such payment in many Catholic marriages, the man must necessarily, and in fact does, build his own house as soon as possible and must have it adequately furnished with all the household goods necessary for domestic life.

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b) The responsibility for the support of the home also falls
583 to the man, not only in regard to food for himself, his wife, and
177 the children, but also for clothing for them all.

c) The Guajiro marriage, as the base of all social organization, necessarily holds sway over inheritance laws. If a couple marry in the Catholic church, they break with this law, and Colombian law is substituted for the laws of the peninsula which no longer cover them. In this way, on the death of the father, his goods are not inherited by his maternal nephews, but rather, in accordance with the Colombian law in force, by his wife and children, obligatory heirs. The custom of gifts to the sons from the father during his lifetime may go on, but these never constitute the whole of the inheritance.

d) Traditional Guajiro organization in respect to land makes
583 of it communal property divided among the various family groups,
177 who are permitted use and usufruct, but with alienation expressly
423 forbidden. These rights to settle, to cultivate arable land, to
pasture, to use the sources of water supply, to take advantage of
the products of the woods, etc., are all denied to the couple
who have married in accordance with the Catholic church.

e) There are also appreciable changes in residence of the
583 *newly married pair, which will be seen in the paragraph about*
177 it in this chapter.

f) Catholic marriage, as is known, gives primacy among us to the transmission of the father's surname, but a marriage consecrated with the Guajiro rite does not, since in this case the children belong to the mother, are of her blood, and use her name exclusively. This fact shows clearly how, by accepting the Catholic bond, the woman isolates her children from the group to which she belonged, because from then onward they do not bear her name, the expression of her family affiliation, and for this reason her maternal relatives do not have to give them economic aid or social backing when they need it. On their part, the maternal relatives of the father have difficulty accepting the children of one of their menfolk as their children in place of their

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583 nephews and nieces, and the fact that they bear their surname
177 when they are children of a union with a woman of a different family group is hard for them to take. In a certain way, the children, although nominally belonging to the father, find themselves in an abnormal situation among their paternal relatives and have a feeling of being rejected, and among their maternal relatives they find a similar attitude and hurt feelings because they have been separated violently from them by their mother's /98/ Catholic marriage, which has completely broken the traditional blood relationship, giving them another surname.

g) If Guajiro custom gives the woman the right to give her name to her children, Catholic marriage transfers this right to the man. She generally gives the child the name of an ancestor, a brother /or sister/ or an uncle /or aunt/; and the man, having been conceded this right, does likewise. If the marriage is Catholic, the children are also baptized. This does not mean that children born to a typical couple married by Guajiro rites are not also baptized, but this is rarer.

h) With the breaking of the consanguineous bonds which bind the child to his maternal relatives, his education is influenced more directly by the father, since he definitely respects his wishes *and consults him, the father, in this way, taking the place of* the mother's brothers, who in the traditional marriage assume these responsibilities. The children respect and obey their father, and the duality of authority which one observes in the Guajiro home is not felt here because the man, from the first moment, establishes the predominance of his will over his wife and children. In this way, the sons identify with their progenitor and defend him because he is their real father and not somebody who has no consanguineous tie and no interests in common with them.

The fact that the father assumes the responsibility for the actions of his sons does not mean that, as in the case of a Guajiro marriage, the mother then obtains the right to claim compensation payment from her husband for anything that may happen to them in any circumstance, or vice versa, but that both assume the total responsibility, without giving rise to any compensation claims

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583 from one or the other when the blame for any particular act falls
177 directly on one of the parents. Each one is free to punish the
children, without asking the approval of the other; neither feels
inhibited about giving an order, nor is it necessary to consult
the relatives of either before making a decision. In this way,
authority makes itself felt in the home, is more closely linked
with the parents, less liable to interference from consanguineous
relatives, and less limited, making the education of the children
easier for this reason and ensuring a unity of authority in the
home.

Marriage through sexual relations between the unmarried

636 Sexual relations before marriage are strictly forbidden in the
583 Guajiro community except during the celebration of the Dance
of the Kid (ceremony of propitiation of the rain and the harvest)
when it is permitted without /99/ entailing social punishment
for those guilty. When times are normal a compensation claim
for abuse or usufruct is presented, or a mutual pact made for
marriage, legalizing in this way the antisocial act committed.
The varieties that may appear in this regard are the following

For abduction, which may have two aspects, sham abduction
583 and real abduction.

Sham abduction is looked upon with favor by the woman's
maternal relatives, who, knowing about the affectionate relations
between her and an individual belonging to an important family
group with whom it would be very convenient to be linked by
marriage even without an offer for her hand or the stipulation
of payment, let the girl go with her lover without offering any
opposition. After a time they present their compensation claim,
and the man sends his relatives who are acting as his sponsors
/padrinos familiares/ to make an arrangement with the woman's
maternal relatives. They then come to a reasonable agreement,
and the man hurries to pay the price arranged. This proceeding
is carried through peacefully, always counting on the good faith
and acquiescence of the two families, although it does have the
appearance of an abduction.

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583 Real abduction takes place when a Guajiro youth is not yet able to buy a woman with his own possessions, or does not want to collect payments from the family to buy her, or because, in the case of a new wife (polygamy), he resorts to this action, often thinking that he will be able to avoid the payment altogether or get a price or installments more in keeping with what possessions he has. He then abducts a woman and goes away as far as possible, taking his cattle with him. This abduction offers two possibilities when the claim for compensation payment is presented to him and in fact to his relatives: first, to pay the price of the woman through a later arrangement, in which case the marriage is legalized. The payment is usually made in two installments. Second, to cover the price of the abuse, that is, the usufruct he has taken of the woman without previous payment and later, if she is pregnant, for the pregnancy and the pains of delivery. In this case the payment is less than that of a poor marriage and does not give the man any right over the woman or over her child.

583 848 Illicit pregnancy. When an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, the maternal family is gravely offended, and it is not unusual for her brothers to beat her brutally, saying, "You have not been bought, and you are like a burro, " and they try to make her confess who /100/ the guilty man is. The mother and the aunts intervene also, scolding her harshly. Very poor families, knowing that it is all useless and that they cannot make the man comply with their compensation claim for abuse, resign themselves to the situation almost without protest. The most they say to the girl when she has the child, in the most contemptuous way, is, "You have given birth like a bitch, " that is to say, "You, whose pregnancy and labor pains nobody paid for, you, whose maternity is not even recognized by he who caused it, you, who do not have a man who honors you in your maternity, you are like a bitch that gives birth alone and does not even know who caused its pregnancy." When the woman is of high class she is nearly always abandoned by her relatives.

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842 When the girl is of easy virtue /*ligera de cascos*/, generally a mestizo of low class, she frequently has sexual intercourse
836 while unmarried, hiding it carefully from her relatives. She receives presents from her lover to satisfy her needs or wishes for adornment or clothes which she could never manage to obtain honorably. But she avoids pregnancy, which according to her own ideas is possible by not having sexual relations during the ten days following menstruation, or by obliging the *civilizado* man with whom she is living to use contraceptives.

836 It also happens sometimes that a middle-class girl, seduced by her sweetheart with the promise of matrimony, consents to live with him and keep their illicit relations secret. The man says to her: "Don't tell anyone, because I cannot buy you for my wife now. If you say nothing, within a year I shall have sufficient money, and then I will buy you. You will see best how you can fix things so that your people do not know." But on occasion the woman becomes pregnant, and her relatives, when they know about it, oblige her to confess who caused her condition, and, as we have said before, she is usually badly beaten. Then they present the compensation claim against the man. The girl's relatives feel that with this act they have been deeply offended, since an abuse of one of their women lowers everyone in the whole clan group, putting them in the class of slaves without relatives to claim retribution for offenses committed against them, and establishing a precedent before all the community which puts them in a position in which all their women can easily be possessed by anyone who feels like it, because no family male power protects them. Also, the men lose prestige as influential persons in the group and as men who are not afraid to face bravely and successfully any situation like the present one to protect the honor of the clan. For this reason, the woman who has had illicit sexual relations and realizes she is pregnant does everything possible, as we have seen, to produce an abortion, and in the majority of cases she is successful. /*101*/

Because of these difficult situations, when a Guajiro sees a woman friend or relative of his talking to a man, he has no

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836 compunction in reproaching her, saying: "What! Is that man your father, your uncle, or your brother that you go walking with him, talking and laughing?" She must at once stop talking to the man and submissively pay attention to the admonition, because if not, the individual in question will go to her parents' house and will say to them: "Who is this that your daughter is talking and laughing with? Has he perhaps already bought her?" And her parents, very much annoyed at her conduct, will interrogate the girl more or less in this manner: "Who is this whom they tell me you are talking to? What does he want from you?" She will answer that he is her sweetheart and wants to buy her, to which her parents reply: "It is not to you that he has to speak but to us. Do not speak to him again."

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583 Apart from these cases, which one might call voluntary, there are cases of violation which, as we know, give cause for a compensation claim for the illegal use of the girl, compounded by the abuse of subjecting her against her will and for the injuries she may have suffered on being violated. If she becomes pregnant as a consequence of such a union, then the corresponding compensation claim will be made for the troubles of pregnancy and labor. But the action by which the woman suffered will not be made the object of recrimination, nor will it lower her value in the eyes of the Guajiro collectivity, if the payment for what has happened is paid in full. There is nothing to object to after that, either in her or in her relatives, and the child will belong to her and will not be the object either of rejection or contempt.

Lastly, it is necessary to take into account the frequent violations of young women still in seclusion by rich Indians, when the girls belong to a poor group and their relatives have to leave them alone in the hut for some reason or other. They say that, as the woman is under treatment and during this time whoever is in charge of her avoids the appearance of menstruation by means of herbs, she does not become pregnant if she has sexual relations. But if such an act does occur, the woman is taken out of seclusion immediately, and the corresponding compensation claim is presented.

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839 583 In the cases that we have described, as in that of abduction, the relatives of the girl oblige the seducer to marry by paying the stipulated price, or to pay an amount they arrive at for the abuse committed. If neither of these alternatives is complied with, the enmity of the two groups involved becomes so bitter that war ensues. /102/

837 583 Marriage by adultery. When a woman commits adultery and the case is known, attempts are made to settle the matter legally: the lover is obliged by the maternal relatives to pay what is claimed by the legitimate husband, or to pay to them the value of a usual marriage, in which case the woman involved on the litigation becomes his lawful wife, according to Guajiro law.

At the present time this custom, which previously used to end with the death of the lover, the husband, or of both, since the husband tried to solve the problem in this way in spite of future consequences, is now dying out due to the emigration of the men and the growing prostitution among the women, both in and outside the peninsula, for the many reasons already seen.

583 587 Marriage of female bond servants and slaves. Although this aspect will be treated fully in the chapter headed Slavery and Bond Service, we would like to present it, if only summarily, in this chapter so as not to disturb the order of the ideas we are tracing.

The women and children taken prisoners in the wars which strong clan groups declare on weak ones when these have caused the death of one of their members enter into the state of slavery. This means that the all-powerful will of their owner may be imposed on every act of their lives, even up to his being able to kill them without possibility of claim, since their relatives who would be the claimants have been slaughtered or dispersed.

In this way adult women and girl slaves may be sold, and in effect are, especially to be taken to Curaçao, Trinidad, etc.; they may be given away to their owners' relatives, or used in domestic service. If the master of a woman slave wishes to

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583 possess her, she must submit, and the child that may result will
567 be the property of the father, owner of the slave. Furthermore, if some man who likes the slave wants to buy her, he may negotiate with her owner and pay what he asks, with which payment she is freed and given the standing of wife, and the children will be free and belong to the maternal group which their oppressors had tried to extinguish. If the woman slave has had sexual relations with someone and as a consequence is pregnant, her owner hurries to oblige her to confess who caused it in order to make a compensation claim. If the payment is only for abuse (which is what it is considered when the lover is someone influential), the owner receives it, and the child remains a slave like his mother but with a lesser degree of oppression. /103/

567 Sometime the man who causes the slave's pregnancy is the son of her owner. In such a case there is no compensation claim. At most his mother scolds the boy, the pregnancy is allowed to take its course, and the child remains in the same condition as its mother, that is to say, slavery.

What puts a limit to the sexual freedom of a man is the compensation claim that the woman's relatives might present; consequently, when she has no relatives or if those she has are not powerful, the woman is the object of insolence and desire on the part of men who find in her an easy and not at all dangerous satisfaction. Thus, women slaves are continually abused by everyone, having no defense whatever since their owners sometimes make no claim, as the children born represent a profit because they become their property.

The same or an even worse condition is the lot of the daughters of slaves who have been bought as wives from their owners by someone, because they belong to a maternal family group that has been destroyed or dispersed and they are really the last of their clan. In this situation, they have barely reached puberty when they are violated or besieged and, having no possibility of defending themselves, they go on submitting until they end up as prostitutes.

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583 Returning to the women slaves, we would say lastly that the
567 owner may give a woman slave to one of his other slaves for a wife or sell her to another owner to be the wife of one of his slaves. If the owner buys a woman slave to provide a wife for one of his male slaves, the children of the union belong to him, and he also collects the marriage payment for the first daughter of this couple to marry, in order to be repaid the amount he paid for her mother. (Aspects of descent will be treated fully in the chapter, Slavery and Bond Service).

591 Marriage residence. Guajiro law covering land gives the Indian ample scope to fix his residence once he has married, for apart from the fact that primarily the new family cell may establish its home in the maternal house of either the wife or the husband, it also offers the following possibilities: a) on the wife's side, on the land of the wives of any of her brothers, since the payment made by the family for each of them included the right to establish homes, to open cleared land, and to pasture livestock, a right which also holds good on the clan lands of the wives of maternal uncles; b) on the husband's side, on the lands of his father and that of the wives of his brothers and maternal uncles, for the same reasons as stated above.

But Guajiro custom generally inclines toward establishing a dwelling beside that of the wife's mother, so that one can say /104/ of marriage that it is matrilocal. The newly married couple live for a time in the same house with the wife's maternal relatives, but when their family increases and they begin to acquire a certain financial independence, they build a house near that of her mother.

Presumably the marriage payment contributes to the marital residence of the couple, since, as we have seen, this requires the girl's consanguineous kin to supply room and board to the husband.

After a more or less lengthy interval has been spent on the lands of the woman's clan, the family, now considerably increased and economically established through the efforts of the

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591 woman and the collaboration of the children, establishes a new home in the settlement of the husband's parents, where they remain until the home is broken up by the death of one of the couple. If it is the man who dies, the woman and the children go back again to the side of the maternal grandmother; if it is the woman, the man remains in his settlement, but the children return to the lands of the maternal clan, to which they belong according to the principle of uterine descent. The same thing happens if both parents die.

So much for the traditional Guajiro system. But in recent times, due to the influence of the mestizo and that of acculturation, the situation has changed. Among the mestizos it is very common for the man to take his wife to his parent's home so that his mother may show her and instruct her in domestic tasks. Presumably, this residence is also influenced by the marriage payment /or rather its lack/, since when the woman has not been acquired in accordance with Guajiro law, the support of the home falls entirely to the lot of the man. Then the help that he may receive will come exclusively from his parents, and this is exactly what determines the patrilocality in these cases.

After a time, if the economic situation of the husband is good, a dwelling is built next to that of his parents, the initiative and construction of this dwelling usually being the responsibility of the man's father. It is frequent, however, that due to particular circumstances of the family, their living all together is prolonged indefinitely.

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591 This residence in both cases refers to marriage to the first wife, since the later wives go on living usually in their parents' homes. At most, in these cases of polygamy, various wives may live together in one house, particularly when they are sisters or get on well together. With the death of each one of the wives, the family begins to break up in the manner previously described. /105/

591 In the case of the marriage of a Guajiro woman with a civilizado, they may respect the matrilocal tradition or establish

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591 themselves in any place, in accordance with the husband's convenience, since in this case also, it is he who must take charge of the economic necessities of the home. Generally, the residence is established in an urban center.

Family intervention in marriage. In the first marriage of a 593 Goajiro man, the family plays an outstanding role, not only in respect to the woman but also to the man. In connection with the latter, the sense of co-operation and mutual aid of the clan group makes itself felt. The man of marriageable age is already economically independent, but he needs the help of his kin. The marriage payment /or installment/ is high, and he cannot cover it with his personal contribution. The aid of his consanguineous relatives puts him in the position of being obligated to them. He must then do something similar when a relative is in a like situation, and much later he will repay those who aided him when he receives the marriage payment for his first daughter.

Another aspect /in which the family plays an outstanding role is/ that of inheritance. The economic contribution given by his kin leaves out his children and his wife, since they have already received their inheritance in the person of the uterine relatives with the purchase price.

The two families take an active part in the ceremonies of negotiating for and buying the wife (Cf. *Purchase procedure* in Chap. V), and in those connected with her being returned, when she was not found to be a virgin at marriage, in cases of adultery, desertion of her home, or neglect or death of the children. (Cf. *Valuation of virginity, and the woman, Adultery, and Dissolution of marriage* in Chap. V. *Maternity*, Chap. VI.)

It falls to the wife's consanguineous group, according to their status, to supply the husband with means of subsistence when she is incapable of doing it herself. The group complies with this function as an obligation derived from the marriage payment.

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But the family influence of the woman's consanguineous kin
593 is most marked and most decisive in her marital life when her marriage is the result of an illegal act: abduction or seduction. The reason for this rests on the fact that it brings into play the prestige of the clan group.

When the marriage is performed in accordance with the Catholic ritual, it is not unusual for the maternal family to use its influence in order to see that the marriage is accompanied by the traditional Guajiro marriage payment, with the object of ensuring that the new family cell will not remain outside society and outside Guajiro culture. /106/

Sexual life. The sexual aspect is one of the basic attractions
833 in the matrimonial life of the Guajiro. The man expects his wife to satisfy him sexually, and similarly the woman when she marries knows beforehand that one of her principal duties is to have marital relations with her husband, and, more than that, to satisfy his inclinations in this matter, putting aside her own desires and wishes, offering herself willingly each time that he asks and adopting the positions that will give him greatest pleasure.

The woman gives no importance to her own wishes and whims in their marital relations for two reasons: first, because she considers and knows -- by reason of the instruction she received during her seclusion -- that that is her obligation and in great part the happiness of her conjugal life is based on it. Second, because /she knows that/ by satisfying even the smallest sexual caprices of her husband she acquires great dominance over him. For this reason she restrains the natural repugnance which these acts may cause her because, furthermore, she has to take into account that although a Guajiro may be quite satisfied and proud of his wife as the mistress of the house, as the administratrix of the family possessions, as a good worker, as an expert in all cultural norms, etc., if with the passage of time and particularly with frequent maternity she loses her physical attractions, he will replace her with a younger woman, who will follow the

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833 general rule of giving herself up docilely as an instrument of pleasure to her husband in order to gain dominance over him and to gradually succeed in replacing the previous wife.

All these considerations impel the woman to make use of her sex appeal in the marriage in order to maintain her ascendancy over her husband and avoid at all cost that he should buy another woman who would cause her to lose her importance and her initial dominance. And it is also for this that she tries as far as lies in her power to retain the real source of her attractiveness and makes use of medicinal herbs or submits to a series of magic rituals designed to preserve her physical attractiveness and to prevent maternity to the point of making it impossible.

Although the Guajiro is passionately attached to the woman who gives him greatest /sexual/ satisfaction, he does not fail [583] to recognize and highly prize other qualities, especially when he is about to buy his first wife. The reason for this lies in the fact that she, and not the others, will represent him socially on all occasions of collective life.

Conjugal relations of a couple who are pure Indian are carried out openly without precautions against the presence of outsiders -- either at home or in the fields -- even in front of the smaller children, /107/ who from a tender age are accustomed to see calmly these biological acts.

If the woman gives way to the will of her husband who claims satisfaction at any time or place, she expects on her part a satisfaction of her own desires, to which the man accedes if possible for fear of adultery on the wife's part, which would lower his prestige.

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833 The Guajiro is accustomed to live close to the woman or women whom he most desires, or to visit them frequently and spend long periods at their side. During these periods the other co-wives show jealousy or find opportunities for infidelity. Since in a way the husband's prestige rests on doing so, the Guajiro goes from one place to another cohabiting with his women without taking heed of his excesses as he thinks that this

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595 833 is clear proof of his manliness, that it gives him greater physical strength and better development of his masculine functions, a very important aspect this as it corresponds to the Guajiro ideal of a man.

When special circumstances force him to be absent from his women for more than three days, it is not rare that he will suddenly abandon his work, and although he may have to walk a long distance or make big sacrifices, he will go off to his favorite wife. She, knowing that the man wants her and that she has been chosen from among all the others to satisfy him, does her utmost to please him and thus once again assure her superior position over the other co-wives and eliminate them from her husband's life in a permanent and hidden struggle against polygamy.

833 The biological act in married couples has no formal limits, but when it is a matter of illicit relations the woman does not permit any deviation from the normal, going as far as not to permit the man seeing her body as she considers that by doing so she becomes a toy or plaything, a mere instrument of pleasure, like an animal, shameless and without any sense of dignity. For this reason she keeps still and absolutely quiet as she does not want the man in one of his frequent drunken sprees to hold her up to ridicule. Also because /she thinks doing otherwise might cause him to/ classify her as one of the slaves who cannot in view of their status offer any resistance to the demands of their owners.

It must be observed that if it is true that the married woman lends herself to the caprices of her husband for the reasons noted, it is also true that she feels internally both disgust and disillusion for marriage and its functions, which convert her in her opinion primarily into an object of pleasure, which puts aside or into a secondary place the other possibilities and qualities which the Guajiro woman might possess, and, as in the case of the illicit relations mentioned above, she sees herself lowered /108/ from her standing of a free woman, of a rational human being. She feels that she has

/108 cont./

833 been deprived of her will and that she does not count as a person. For these reasons she regards her marital life as a hard duty to perform, at odds with her own personality. Possibly, for this reason, the man seeks out the mestizo, who is free of these prejudices and for that reason more capable to give and to derive for herself greater satisfaction from her marital life than the pure Indian woman.

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833 As it is not uncommon for a man to have two, three, or even more co-wives living together in one house, his conduct in his conjugal relations must be very circumspect if he wishes to preserve, at least in appearance, a cordial or friendly feeling among them, because if he is not circumspect, jealousies will spring up and a bitter struggle of lengthy repercussions ensue. As each one of the wives endeavors to find a motive that will justify her as superior in the eyes of the others, he has to behave with extreme caution. For this reason he sleeps outside in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ while his women and their children sleep inside the house. He never suggests to any one of them that they should spend the night together, as the one thus favored would announce this preference to place herself on a superior plane. For this reason he receives whichever one goes voluntarily to him to his hammock.

834 The man suspends marital relations during the time the woman's pregnancy is advanced. He does this for fear of causing a miscarriage for which he might be blamed, and because of the belief that it might give rise to a bad delivery.

After the birth of the child, marital life is not resumed until the woman voluntarily asks for it.

842 Ideas about fecundation. The Guajiro knows that fecundation is the result of the combined action of the woman and the man through the means of the sexual act. They know that in this act the man gives an element which joined to the feminine one will form the new being. They say that the [826] woman has in her internal parts a special organ in which this new being will gradually take form, the womb, called in their

/108 cont./

842 language the urá-hu-chon ("place where babies are formed"). But in order to be fruitful the woman must menstruate at regular [826] intervals. Otherwise they will be sterile, and in La Guajira cases of this are known.

They explain the necessity of menstruation for fecundation by saying that after a woman has had her monthly period, in spite of bathing her body and her exterior genital organs most carefully, there remains in the interior of the womb a small quantity of menstrual blood, the last of that period; and when the sexual act occurs, the male sperm mixing with the female blood will form the new being, who from the first moment shows all the characteristics of an adult in miniature /109/ but needs a period of residence in the maternal womb to be nourished and to develop properly. When this moment arrives, birth takes place. They do not know what causes the difference in sex. They think, furthermore, that the female blood beside being a contribution to the initial formation of the new being is also its food, because they have observed the disappearance of the menstrual cycle during pregnancy.

Consequently, for the loss of blood the mother suffers during her pregnancy (nourishment of the fetus) and during the birth, her relatives claim compensation payment from the husband; they demand two payments in this connection which we have already described in a special section of this chapter.

Now we can understand why the payment made in such circumstances cannot be touched or made use of by the woman when it is a payment of animals, because, as we have said, it would mean that she was figuratively consuming herself, as it represents her lost blood, part of her very life.

843 The woman during pregnancy acquires certain magic properties and she finds it necessary to observe a large number of taboos in order to carry to a happy fulfillment the gestation which is taking place. She herself is considered a being of potential and dangerous magic for weak and sick people, whom she must not visit because she will instill a feeling of sorrow and sickness in them, and this could cause them to have a relapse or lead to their death.

/109 cont./

842 The Guajiro also knows that at a fixed time in her life the woman's menstrual cycle ceases, and he affirms that from then onward she will have no more children because her internal organ has "been damaged," that is to say, "it no longer works," and in consequence is incapable of supplying blood, the female element indispensable for fecundation.

. . .

825 The Guajiro also has his own theory with respect to the fecundation of oviparous birds and animals. He believes that in the sexual act the male deposits in the entrails of the female the masculine element necessary for the formation of the new animal. This masculine element unites with the contribution of the female, and when she lays the egg both parts are working together, and if the process of hatching follows successfully, the result is the new being. They compare this last process with that which has been verified in the womb of the woman, with the difference that the necessary nourishment is to be found in the same elements, feminine and masculine, that form the egg. The warmth is contributed by the parents.

The masculine element in the egg is represented by two parts: the red point, or germinative part, without which the development /110/ of the chick cannot take place; in consequence, they consider it of more importance than the white, which from its similarity to the sperm they believe is also supplied by the male. What they call the red point is, according to their opinion, the really vital part, because they have observed that when this is missing, the egg does not hatch in spite of having the other male element, the white, which is of secondary value.

The female contribution is represented by the yolk. They have found on opening a hen that inside it has the so-called "ovarium" containing the yolks or ova, and they believe that this is the only part that nature assigns to the hen.

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825 With respect to the fertilizing of viviparous animals, the Guajiro has certain empirical views obtained from personal observation and his frequent contact with animals. They know that the females of such animals undergo the phenomenon of menstruation but note that it is not definitely periodical and constant, but sporadic. During this biological process the female becomes fertile and looks for a male, because during this period she can make her contribution of menstrual blood. At such a time the male animal feels attracted to the female and he becomes heated, which results in his pursuing the female until he impregnates her. On mating, his semen enters and mixes with the blood in the womb, and thus the new embryo animal is formed, which, like the human being, requires a period of gestation before birth.

They have also observed that once the male has accomplished the fecundation, as menstruation does not return until after the birth takes place, the male does not become heated again for this female, but respects her. He observes this in contrast with man, who has carnal access to a pregnant female even in an advanced period of pregnancy.

593 *Behavior of the woman with her husband.* The payment which the man makes for the woman establishes the principle that compels her to take upon herself a series of material obligations attendant with the requirements of hospitality, feeding, clothing, and sexual satisfaction; and the nonmaterial ones of submission, obedience, and fidelity. To carry out the first, she avails herself of the money obtained from the sale of the woven articles which she can make, her personal property in livestock, and the corn fields /*siembras*/ and wild fruits.

When the husband arrives home the woman hurries to hang up his hammock in the *enramada* /bough-covered shelter/, as this attention is basic in the general norms of etiquette and of hospitality to visitors, relatives, or strangers /*111*/ who arrive at the house, but above all to the husband. If he returns from a hunting expedition she will have ready for him various containers

/111 cont./

593 of water so that the man can bathe before entering the house and can rest in his hammock in the enramada; she also provides clean clothes, that is, a belt and guayuco, the common dress. She will immediately bring him a refreshing drink made from wild fruits, corn, or yucca. If after a hunting expedition the husband returns home and does not find all these things ready, he will complain to the woman and reproach her for lack of attention. A few moments after the man's return, the woman should produce food, preparing a portion of the game he has brought home, trying to make a dish that will be to his taste. Later she will sit by his side on the ground at the feet of the hammock on which he is resting, and she will recount to him all that has happened during his absence and the conduct of each and every member of the house in this lapse of time. If the man falls asleep she will stay silently at his side.

Another of the obligations of the woman to her husband refers to sexual satisfaction, which we have noted in a previous section.

[264] Her duties in respect to feeding relate not only to the obligation to supply him with food, but also to the special way of doing it -- to serve him the best portion in a special vessel and before anyone else in the house and to cook the food in accordance with the man's special taste.

593 Also the proper attention due to her husband's friends when they come to the house is another of her obligations. 574 It is customary for the man to bring his intimate friends to his first wife's house to entertain them, and his wife should then carry out adequately the part of a good housekeeper, complying with all the traditional norms of etiquette and hospitality, such as supplying them with hammocks in the enramada, bringing fresh drinks and especially a cup of coffee, and, whatever the hour of day or night they may arrive, giving them food in accordance with the tradition of her people and the particular rank of the visitors, and chatting

/111 cont./

593 with them, seated near her husband at the foot of the hammock he occupies. If it should happen that the husband and 574 his friends are on a spree and have gone to the house to continue drinking, she may only take part by bringing them drinks, by answering briefly the questions they put to her, without entering into the man's conversation, because if she should the group would dissolve, beginning with the husband, who would angrily accuse her of being a meddler. Her behavior at these times must be very circumspect, and she should be ready to prevent any /112/ controversial discussion bordering on a quarrel, which might bring troublesome consequences. In case this should occur it is her obligation to calm and separate the contenders so that they may not do each other harm, and later to endeavor to calm the inflamed tempers.

574 If any visitor should arrive at the house when the husband is absent, the wife should attend to him properly, for if not the guest will complain to the husband of the discourtesies of his wife. But in these circumstances she should observe certain norms of conduct intended to defend her own honor. For example, a hammock should be slung in the enramada so that the visitor can rest, but she should never let him follow her into her room or into the house, because if her husband should hear of it he would bitterly reproach such behavior. Also any curious passer-by could recount the presence of a strange man in the room while her husband was away, giving the latter ample cause to complain openly, putting the woman's prestige in jeopardy. When the guest is resting in the hammock, she sits at the foot to attend to him, occupying herself with some manual labor which permits her to give her attention to the visitor.

593 The woman should show special interest in keeping up and improving her husband's belongings. It is her duty to keep his clothing, his weapons, his personal effects, etc., clean and in good repair and to be able to give a good account of all these when her husband asks about them. The

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913 same applies with respect to the livestock when the man is away from home; she must see to it that the boys or the servants take proper care of them.

If the husband falls ill she must look after him with great care and immediately inform his maternal relatives, so that if he should die she will not be blamed for his death. If it is necessary to seek the professional services of the shaman, she should first get the consent of his close relatives, who are those responsible for making such arrangements, and in the event that the shaman does intervene, she should offer her services, although generally he -- the shaman -- prefers to have a sister or the mother of his patient as his assistant in his magic operations. If it is one of the children who falls ill in the absence of the husband, her immediate duty is to send a messenger to tell him the news, in order to avoid later recriminations and claims for compensation payment on the part of the man should the child die. This last is due to the fact that the woman is responsible to her husband for what might happen to the children in his absence or in consequence of an order she has given. But this is reciprocal. For example, if because of any reprimand one of the children should commit suicide, the responsibility for his death falls on whoever was responsible for /113/ the admonition, who must pay to the other parent and his or her maternal relatives an amount decided upon.

The wife's attentions to her husband are most concentrated and clear when the man is drunk, as at this time she must not leave him and should go in search of him if he is alone when she learns he is intoxicated, in order to prevent his offending any outsiders by word or act. Such offense might give rise to annoyance and quarrels which might involve his family in troubles, in which her own relatives might become implicated, if she were not on the alert to avoid it, in which case she would be judged the guilty party. Furthermore, a man in this condition not only may cause offense to

/113 cont./

593 others, if his wife does not control him, but may even attempt to take his own life. If for any reason the drunken man not accompanied by his wife should commit suicide, the blame for this act would be fixed on the wife as the indirect cause, since her neglect would be considered to have led to his death. Her duty is therefore to lead him away from such places where he is likely to get into trouble and, if she cannot succeed in this, not to leave him for an instant while there is a possibility of a fight. She should also obey him promptly and gratify him in all his whims. Guajiro women state that the Indian when drunk becomes quite childish and self-willed, and when he is in this condition he will even ask his wife to sing him to sleep, fuss over him, let him lie in her lap, or ask her to lie with him in his hammock, all of which she should do to please him. Others, on the contrary, become aggressive, and it is then they revive the insults they have had to suffer in the past. The woman should remain silent when he is in this mood so as to give him no cause for possible argument, which might make the man beat her in his fury. Neither should the woman reproach the man for whatever ill-treatment she may receive from him when in this condition, but she should wait until after he has slept and the drunkenness is past. Afterward, when he asks her what happened during his drunken bout, she has an opportunity to make her protests, which he will carefully listen to, excusing himself the best he can or repaying in some way the wrong he has done her -- for instance by presenting her with a new robe, if during his tantrums he has torn her other one, or making protestations of his love for her and excusing himself, saying that he was not responsible for what happened while in that drunken condition and she should take no notice of it. The woman after these explanations should not bear rancor.

595 With regard to polygamy the woman must assume an attitude of resignation, put no difficulties in the way of a new co-wife, and if she is taken to live in the same house try to avoid friction and quarrels, treating her in a sisterly fashion without /114/ being jealous of her or her husband. When

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595 co-wives live together they should be generous to one another, as if they were good comrades. In that way it is expected that they share the game the man brings back from the hunt, that they help each other when in need, that they not indulge in recriminations when the husband for some reason and for a time spends all his time with one, that they not ridicule each other in his presence, that they share the food that there is in the house, and that they look after the children in a motherly fashion. At the death of one, the others should go to the wake and show their grief. In short, they should adopt an attitude of mutual loyalty. These are the ideal responses their culture expects from the Goajiro woman confronted by the problems of polygamy. However, reality is very different. The woman prefers to have as co-wives friends whom she likes very much or, better still, her sisters, since in this way life is more supportable, and they can share the affection of their husband with a real sense of companionship.

The woman's conduct when her husband returns, even after a very long absence, should be of loving solicitude as if his absence did not matter; she should not ask why he was absent if the man does not explain, accept his excuses even when she knows them to be lies, should not be sarcastic nor mention other women nor say, for example: "How could you leave so-and-so's pretty face?" The woman should adopt this attitude because her husband may return, primed by the other woman to expect her displeasure, and finding her so different will disarm him. It is possible that the previous co-wife has said: "Your other wife is badly brought up. You are very good and should not live with her because she is haughty and disobedient. She does nothing but insult you because you love me. She envies me and does not respect you. I don't know why you let her say such annoying things." The passive and understanding attitude of the wife convinces the man of the falseness of all that he has previously heard, and on his return he says to her accuser: "What you told me is not true.

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595 She has received me lovingly and attentively. She didn't say anything about you." Sometimes the husband, wanting to ascertain what intrigues are going on, makes some comment about his favorite wife. The other should agree heartily and praise her. In such a case the husband will return to his favorite with the news: "My other wife is good. She said a lot of nice things about you. She likes you and is not envious." Nevertheless, the favorite will probably reply that she only spoke like that because she was afraid, and so a real struggle of intrigue goes on between the women, each one trying to monopolize all the husband's affection for herself. This is why the use of very expensive love charms is so general and why the complex /115/ of magic practices is used to keep a man's love. For although culturally it is not accepted, the attitude of each and every woman is one of permanent aggression. This obliges the Goajiro man, when not dealing with sisters, to keep his different wives separated as much as possible, for when chance brings them face to face, it is not unusual that they insult each other, passing from words to acts to the point of injuring each other. The hostility of one toward the other is heightened by the comments and bits of news that their friends bring about the behavior of the husband and what each one says about the other. These are brought with the idea of getting some kind of payment (it is customary to pay for information). The situation may get so tense that when the husband goes out the woman follows him to see where he goes, observes his tracks, and when she cannot follow him herself sends a child to watch him and tell her what happened.

When several co-wives live in the same house and do not get on, it is common for the struggle between them to reach the point of mutual destruction of personal property. When the husband gives a present to one, her most open enemy takes advantage of her absence to search everywhere for it and when she finds it to break it into pieces or burn it. At times this belligerent attitude is expressed in the presence of the husband, who has to resort to all his authority and

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595 even to force to separate the rivals as insults pass from words to acts.

When a man dies his relatives go to the house where the death occurred and begin the wake according to his standing. His wives attend and must show their grief and occupy the place appropriate to them as wives of the dead man, and must carry out the traditional practices of their cult for the dead.

The wife is not obliged to make common cause with the husband. However, at the present time cases have been seen in which the wife of an assassin has been burned or tortured, because she was included in the category of consanguineous relatives of the husband. But their culture establishes the principle that women do not participate in the men's fights.

Behavior of the man. Although the Guajiro woman always
593 has the backing of her maternal relatives to counteract her husband's possible ill-treatment and although any such misbehavior on his part is illegal, women in general are not well treated, /a fact/ which many of them from various regions attribute to the problem of polygamy.

When a man has only one wife his life follows the cultural patterns, and he shows himself affectionate toward her, /116/ giving her and the children presents and voluntarily helping her to provide food and clothing. But when he buys another wife, the new one displaces the first one, who may be relegated to last place, although she keeps her social prestige as first wife through the economic and social backing of her family, which is considerable, and for this reason it is difficult for the husband to ill-treat her, so that the worst thing he can do is to abandon her.

He will abandon the other wives in turn, and they know it, but it sometimes happens that one of them attracts the attention of the man, and he abandons all the rest or makes them the victims of his constant ill-treatment.

This is what gives rise to the struggle of the woman against polygamy. She suffers and is bitterly resentful of her husband's marrying again. She thinks that it is because she no longer

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593 satisfies him, and she becomes jealous; and this jealousy and the recriminations which it causes may be the source of the quarrels between husband and wife so frequent in Guajiro homes.

A second cause of the ill-treatment from their husbands which the Guajiro women suffer is the inequality of status between the two. When the wife lacks effective backing, the man does not attempt to limit his quarrelsome conduct nor his reactions of anger. She on her part hides her problem from her relatives and from outsiders in order not to show the lowering of her prestige and position, which might be taken advantage of by third persons to further trouble her or her children.

593 578 A third cause is the abuse of the drunken man, who takes advantage of fiestas or gatherings among themselves or outsiders to attend these parties and drink, or does the same without any excuse whatever. It is at these times that such a man shows the worst sides of his character. He becomes aggresive, looks for quarrels with anyone, mulls over the past, and if he can finds some reason for taking offense, although it may be completely insignificant, and enlarges on it, giving free rein to his aggressive impulses -- for example, if a man's wife was not a virgin when he married her or he is not sure of her faithfulness. The slightest disobedience may be sufficient stimulus for the man to unleash his wrath against his wife, singing allusive songs about her lack of virginity before she was married or other faults and later passing from words to threats and then to acts, beating her and even mutilating her, as happened in Nazaret to two women belonging to a poor group whose drunken husband went to visit them. One of the women had her upper lip bitten off and the other woman was gravely injured. They hid the affair for a long time, /117/ but they were obliged to ask the Capuchin mission for help when the wound was already very infected. In another case the husband bit off his wife's nose. There are detailed cases of women who have had their ears torn off in moments like

/117 cont./

593 these or have been brutally kicked or beaten with sticks or
578 dragged by their hair, etc. The only sanction, the claim made by the woman's family, is frequently not made, and these episodes end in one of two ways: First, with the death of the woman, in which case her husband makes some payment, under pressure of popular opinion of outsiders or of his own relatives, who refuse to admit into their midst a criminal with no justifiable motive, or because of the possible connections and alliances which his wife's relatives may be able to make in an extreme case like this. Second, with the suicide of the woman, since she hangs herself, blind with pain, anger, and mental suffering, and in order that the blame of her death may fall on her husband. This solution is tragic and very common, and as a result when a husband has murdered his wife, he tries to make it look like suicide. In Nazaret we witnessed one of these cases, where the death was made to appear to be suicide by hanging, when the real cause of the woman's death was a kick in the stomach. Among the information we gathered is a reference to a similar case in Lower La Guajira, in which the cause of death was discovered only when the relatives of the woman washed her body before enshrouding it, as is the custom in La Guajira.

A fourth cause of ill-treatment is suspected or proven
593 unfaithfulness on the part of the woman; the resentment ap-
837 pears when the man gets drunk or when the woman disobeys or gives some reason for complaint. He says in this case: "You didn't obey me because what I order is not ordered by so-and-so" (here he uses the name of her lover if he knows it) or "by the man who has taken my place" (if he does not know or only suspects it.) Frequently, he adds insults and blows. In these cases of suspicion or proof of infidelity, the lack of understanding between the couple increases and the ill-treatment extends itself to the children, whose paternity the father is beginning to doubt. At times, although the infidelity has been clearly proved, the man does not leave his wife nor apply the corresponding legislation, because he loves her and

/117 cont./

593 pretends to pardon her, but the offense he has received shows
837 itself at times in aggressive action and ill-treatment, for which he is sorry later, as we have said.

When suspicion does not reach the proportions of reality, the married life of the couple is naturally less calm than it was. The husband tries to obtain proofs at all costs /118/ and lives a life of constant alertness, trying to induce his wife to confess and looking for an opportunity to catch her infraganti (for further explanation see the section Adultery in this chapter).

593 As a fifth cause of marital ill-treatment one may cite the woman's deficient compliance with the obligations she is supposed to undertake, which may result from two reasons. First, the husband may have paid a low price for her when he made the marriage payment arrangements; second, she may have been forced by her relatives to marry a man she did not like at a time when she was in love with another man. If the husband knows of this situation, he makes it a basis for his tirades, refers to it as the palpable cause of her lack of attention to him and to the management of her home. He will say, for example: "You don't want to attend to me because I am not that so-and-so, whom you used to love so much. Of course you would be glad to serve and obey him in everything. But you will have to serve and attend to me, although you don't like it, because you are my wife and not his."

On occasion it is disobedience of the husband's prohibitive orders which lead to his attack. He tells his wife, for instance, not to leave the house, and she in spite of this leaves the house and goes visiting somewhere. Then the Goajiro, believing his rights are being flouted, punishes and mistreats the woman in order to force her to submit to his every wish, which is to him a symbol of his manhood.

595 Relations between co-wives. Life between the different wives of a man fluctuates between genuine comradeship and an internal struggle.

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595 Generally, the cause of this struggle is jealousy and the consequences of every kind that follow in its train. The women say: "Before he found this other woman, he came home with pleasure, brought us presents, liked being in our company, and never found any reason to quarrel. Now everything has changed. He never comes, or if he does he always looks for a pretext to mistreat us and insult us. He comes home drunk, looking for any reason he can find to get mad. He never brings us anything, not even the fruit of what he has sown even though we know that he has some. It is the other woman who will not let him be good to us and tells him tales to get him away from us."

Working on this principle and on the fact that a new marriage puts the previous wife on a secondary plane in her husband's estimation, the woman struggles desperately to keep her position with her husband, /116/ because once it is lost, she knows that she will have no legal backing to make him comply with his obligations.

She then follows two general norms of conduct: one is open and ostensible and is manifested by insults in word and act to her rival (Cf. Behavior of the woman... in this same chapter), by gossip, and even personal attack when they meet by chance. When they live under the same roof, the husband's presence is an obstacle to the showing of aggressiveness. Some get their close relatives, a child for example, to spy on the rival's conduct to have some means by which they can attack her, or they use their friends (whom they afterward have to pay) to investigate all that she does or does not do, with the same purpose. When the husband leaves the house, she spies on him to find out if he visits her rival and to ascertain what goes on.

The struggle at times is not open only against the rival co-wife but goes farther and is directed openly against the husband. She complies with her wifely obligations to him and to the customary norms of hospitality indifferently: she

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595 receives him ungraciously when he arrives, without rising from where she is to hang his hammock; she does not offer him refreshing drinks or coffee, and when he asks her to do something for him she replies: "Why don't you ask that so-and-so, whom you like so much and who is so prudent? What do you see in her who is nothing to admire, who doesn't know how to do such-and-such things, that you should be so silly about her and can see nothing except through her eyes and can believe nothing except the lies she tells you? She is a shameless hussy who goes about laughing with all the men, who doesn't know how to work, and you love her anyway. I am going to do the same so that you care for me."

She also answers his questions rudely, answers him with monosyllables, or pretends not to know what she really knows quite well. This conduct may exasperate the husband, who tries to reassert his authority in the home, resorting to insults and blows, especially if he is drunk and the scene has been repeated many times. On other occasions he tries to calm her and openly denies his affection for the rival in question, overlooking his wife's conduct and promising her presents and that he will stay with her a long time.

This aggressiveness is adopted not only against the legal co-wives but also against all women who try in an illegal way to usurp the affection of the husband. Against these, the wife's reaction is openly aggressive, because in the majority of cases such women are generally at the bottom of the social scale, either because they are slaves or bond servants or belong to an unimportant group. A story is told of a Goajiro woman of /120/ high class who, learning for herself of marital relations between her husband and one of her sisters, attacked the latter with a knife, obliging her to flee during the night and not permitting her to live anywhere near the wife's home. Others turn out their women slaves after beating them cruelly and present the husband with a claim for compensation payment when the slaves are personal property /of the woman/. They

/120 cont./

595 follow the same line of conduct with regard to the bond servants who serve their husbands as concubines. However, this legal action is not always taken, and the wife may overlook the whole affair.

When a wife feels despised or mistreated by her husband and put in an inferior position by a co-wife, it is not unusual for her to wish to kill her husband and actually to carry out this desire. The Guajiro, who knows this sentiment, appeals to it when there is a fight going on between two clan groups, by paying the woman whom he knows is unhappily married to kill her husband. At his suggestion, she gives her husband algodonillo /? algodoncillo, a milkweed/ poison in his coffee, ground-up glass beads, poison for jaguars /tigres/, or puts the juice of a small, very poisonous lizard into the rum her husband is accustomed to drink. This practice is so well known that men, during war time, do not go to their wives' houses. [594] [278]

The other norm of conduct followed by the wife in such cases is a passive one: She does everything possible to condition her conduct as a married woman to the idealized cultural patterns in order to try to retain the affection of her husband to the utmost and thus prevent new women taking her place. If the husband is not completely satisfied in spite of these efforts, the woman tries to please him sexually. She believes that if she attains this objective, her matrimonial security is assured. That is why, besides doing everything they can to obtain such a satisfaction, they have recourse to magic, as we have explained several times in this work.

Finally, the woman may adopt an attitude of indifference to her husband, without any claims or anger, taking his lack of affection as the most natural thing in the world, in this way trying to bring about his return, or she may praise her rival when her husband mentions her in order to give the lie to any accusation that the other woman may have made. (Cf. in this chapter, Behavior of the woman with her husband).

/130 cont./

595 Another way of carrying on the struggle is to exaggerate the usual norms of hospitality. She tries to please him with food, with solicitous attention on arrival, hanging his hammock, bringing him coffee, bringing him water to wash with, etc., in short pleasing him in every way possible. She suppresses /131/ all recriminations that might anger him, all allusion, veiled or open, and all reproaches at his conduct, since she believes that the man will consequently rectify, analyze, and weigh his conduct and decide that she is better than the others. If she does not succeed in keeping his affection by this, at least she knows that she will not be mistreated. In any case, she is convinced that in the long run she will have to resign herself to the presence of other women, in other words, to polygamy.

In her struggle to keep uppermost in her husband's affections, the woman also resorts to birth control to conserve her physical attractiveness, as we have seen in the section Sexual life in this chapter, or gets her husband to buy her friends as wives, especially her younger sisters, because in both cases she will find in the co-wives companions and mutual aid. And the Guajiro, who does not like quarrels between his wives is willing to do this.

We must consider the norms of conduct for the woman confronted with this problem. Guajiro culture expects that the wife, the first one as well as the rest, should take the husband's new marriages with resignation, without opposing his wish, and, above all, without attempting future reprisals against him and his new companion. She should content herself with the husband's assurances that her predominant position as first wife will never be lost and that he has had to buy the others because the previous ones had not been able to satisfy his needs or his love. It also expects that new wives will not try to sow discord in the group and will not exert a pernicious influence, trying to inspire dislike for the rest in the mind of the husband. Also, it expects that she will submit to the wishes of her husband, who has the option of taking her to live with the others.

/121 cont./

578 In such a case, she must reconcile herself to the situation and lead a harmonious life of true friendship with her companions, without showing her influence, or setting one against another, and especially not setting her husband against one or another of the co-wives. On their part, those who are already present should offer a benevolent welcome to the new wife, respect her property, and share with her the common goods and rights.

The man in particular and the social collectivity in general expect the woman who lives in polygamy not to feel jealous, or at least not to show it ostensibly. A home consisting of several wives living in continual discord is a spectacle degrading to the husband, since the other men consider it an undesirable problem, and they throw up at the husband his lack of skill in managing his wives properly, thus lowering his prestige /122/ by involving him in gossip which the society relays avidly for their amusement.

The society believes that a woman who feels herself lowered by her husband or by a co-wife should maintain a resigned attitude. They concede that she may use passive means, but she must not have recourse to open struggle against the favorite to regain the affection of the husband.

The wife's duty to satisfy her husband sexually presents difficulties to the co-wives when all live under the same roof. The woman may have access to the husband in normal times when she desires it or he demands it by going to the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ where he sleeps, if one of her companions has not gone there first. The husband must not express preference at such a time for anyone, nor leave one unsatisfied to go with another, because this is the most common cause of jealousy. In spite of this, on occasion the favorite wife takes over the fulfillment of this obligation almost exclusively, when the others are very seldom visited by the husband.

Their culture also demands of the man's various wives that they maintain a relationship of cordiality and mutual help (Cf. Behavior of the women with the husband) and that they

/122 cont./

595 become co-participants in the husband's goods and what he takes to one of the houses. When they live together in the same house, the children of any one of them should be looked after by the rest in the mother's absence, and all food should be shared, when one of them has none.

Generally, each of the wives has part of the objects of the husband's personal use -- the robe, the guayuco, the belts, the sandals, the arms, the hammock -- and when he asks for them, each one should answer with her part; the goods he brings belong to all the women, and with them they attend to their personal necessities, those of the children, and those of possible visitors.

The co-wives must share together in each others' difficulties. It is not at all well regarded that one should rejoice at the suffering of another, even though she be the most hated rival. Nobody must show their pleasure at this. If the husband's marital preference changes, the other women must not comment sarcastically on his inconstancy. The favorite -- so Guajiro culture considers -- should have sufficient kindness to try to level out the conduct of the husband and intercede for the less favored ones, asking for benevolence or help according to the needs of each. However, in reality this does not happen. The favorite tries to eliminate the others and vice versa, openly or under cover, /123/ unless the co-wives are bound to her by ties of consanguinity or by previous friendship.

When one of the co-wives dies, if her companions are noble and have good feelings, they must go to the ceremonies which take place at such a time and express their regrets to the relatives. If they do not comply with this basic act of courtesy, not only do the relatives of the dead woman resent it, but it gives occasion to bitter remarks from the rest, who accuse them of bad feeling.

The first wife, even if she finds herself definitely abandoned by her husband, who is now attracted to one of the later wives, does not lose her legally predominant social position.

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595 He has the best livestock on her land; it is she who is really considered as his main wife, who represents him in rank, and whose children belong to a higher group than the rest. And it is to her home and not to that of any of his other wives that the Guajiro takes his friends when he owes them some attention, if they are people of a status equal or superior to his own.

She adopts an attitude of simulated indifference before society with regard to the polygamy of her husband. She does not comment on the matter or associate with the others, although in the lower classes she is frequently obliged to live with them, in which case she will tenaciously defend her privileges.

Also, the Guajiro man at the present time marries by the Catholic rite but later contracts other marriages under the Guajiro system. In these cases it is not unusual for the first wife to be unaware of his subsequent marriage, since the husband hides it, but she may also get to hear of it because of the general practice of selling information among some women. In such a situation she maintains a reserved attitude before outsiders, and although she really recognizes the importance of such acts, she behaves as though her husband's later marriage means nothing in her life; she considers such things as misdoings on her husband's part and regards other wives, even those legally bought, as concubines and their children as having the illegitimate standing they would have in our society.

As the acquisition of each new wife may bother the previous ones, he does not insist that they attend the marriage ceremony, unless they are pleased about it because the new wife is an intimate friend or a sister.

837 [684] Adultery. We have seen in this chapter that the man's first reaction to knowledge of his wife's adultery is to kill /124/ her lover and bring on all the consequences this death may entail or, as an alternative, to demand indemnification from his wife's maternal relatives for the offense suffered. However, when the man cares very much for his wife, he may forgive her after a terrible quarrel. It can happen that she may go away for some time with another man, and her husband will later live with her

/124 cont./

837 again without any claim whatever. They may live together peacefully again without the man's making any reproaches, /at least/ when he is not drunk.

The causes which have extended the problem of adultery, together with prostitution, are very diverse and have made the oly type of law, already described, ineffective to a certain degree. Because in modern times infidelity does not occupy its former important place in the mind of the Guajiro; cases of it multiply and the previous scruple of regarding it as an antisocial act is disappearing. The growing emigration of men to Venezuela in search of work, which leaves women abandoned for long periods; the contact of women with other cultures which have different ideas about such matters; the economic misery accentuated by the long summers; the opportunity to earn a little money through extramarital relations, which helps to sustain them; the breaking up of native social institutions; and the easy ways that the guilty parties now have of escaping the consequences of their actions are all new causes, which together with the traditional ones which have led the Guajiro woman to break the social principle of marital fidelity -- such as being forced into a marriage when in love with another man; the lack of control and of sexual satisfaction resulting from one man's being permitted to have a great number of women -- all these causes tend to increase the problem of adultery now more than before, since in the old days the law was followed to the letter in spite of the social convulsions which its application might provoke.

[583] The attitude of a man who suspects his wife of infidelity is always one of violence, because he feels himself ostensibly defrauded; from then on he becomes a tyrant to his wife and takes advantage of every opportunity to hurt her, insult her, and pour scorn on her. The woman in such cases limits herself to emphatically and constantly denying her guilt and adopting the position of one unjustly accused. The testimony of someone who has surprised her in the act is necessary to make her

/124 cont./

837 confess and admit her guilt. Her conduct when she commits adultery /125/ is always under cover. Thus, if during a long absence of her husband she has had relations with another man and, her menstrual period failing to appear, she fears she is pregnant, she goes to look for her husband on the pretext of taking a present and lives with him in order to supply herself with an alibi. As the pregnancy advances she makes her husband believe that it originated on that occasion, thus defending herself from the possible consequences of her infidelity. The husband, who does not bother much about dates, accepts the alibi as a fact. However, certain cases are cited in which the man has later become aware of the deception, usually from observing a marked likeness the child bears to the real father. Then he concentrates on making his wife confess her offense or on trying to prove it himself. If she confesses, then he invokes the law covering adultery; if she does not, there is nothing he can do legally, but he delights in throwing his suspicions in her face; he gets drunk with his friends and sings insulting and offensive songs to her; he treats her badly, hitting her on any pretext. As for the child whose paternity he doubts, he dislikes it, barely tolerating its presence and waiting until it grows up to see if the physical likeness becomes clearer so that he can take advantage of it as decisive proof against his wife and demand the prescribed payment. He spies on her every movement. He leaves the house declaring that he is going to be away a long time and returns when least expected, or he hides and watches the movements of his wife when she goes out to get water, firewood, etc., and follows her tracks until at times he discovers the place she meets her lover, and

837 if he finds there the proofs of infidelity he seeks and the tracks
684 of the lover, he goes home hurriedly and brings his wife to the spot to confront her with everything and to oblige her by force of blows to confess. Sometimes he manages to catch the guilty couple together, and in the exultation of his jealousy he kills both the woman and her lover. Sometimes the lover manages to escape, and at other times, after a furious fight, they both

/125 cont./

837 684 die, which complicates the situation gravely, because it brings the three clan groups into the picture: the woman's, the man's, and the lover's. In such cases, the payment usually falls on the group weakest both socially and economically, even though it may have lost one of its members, is least to blame, or has acted only in self-defense. If the lover is of low standing and dies, his relatives must pay the husband and the wife's relatives the amount established.

586 837 If in any case of adultery the man possesses sufficient proof to accuse his wife, he can demand from her maternal relatives the return of the purchase price plus the indemnity considered just /126/ and the children they have had; if, on the other hand, the relatives can prove that before the adultery the man mistreated her, neither the payment nor the indemnity are justified, and with the return of one of the children of the marriage to the man, the whole matter is closed. At the same time the man loses his right to the woman, this being the only case of true dissolution of marriage.

586 Dissolution of marriage. A Guajiro marriage can, in a way, be considered indissoluble. The woman who is bought according to the law of La Guajira is considered as the husband's personal property, property assured by the girl's relatives, who have received payment for her, and this restrains the girl from behaving in any way different from the traditional.

Proved adultery can be the cause of disuniting the pair, as we have just seen. In such a case, the offended husband demands the return of the payment made when he bought his wife, with which the tie is considered broken and the woman may abandon the home and return to her kin, losing the right to keep her children, who are of her blood and her family but in this case pass into the possession of the husband.

The lover, who cannot consider himself free of responsibility for the problem he has created, becomes, voluntarily or involuntarily, by the payment which he has to make to the woman's relatives, the husband of the woman accused of adultery.

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586 As we can see, the dissolution of marriage does not really apply to the woman, who is merely transferred from her legitimate husband to her lover through the payment for damages claimed by her maternal relatives.

Nowadays, if a *Guajiro* knows that another man covets one of his wives, he will make a friendly arrangement, as we have seen, through intermediaries for the interested party to pay a sum which will give him the right to take the woman as his legal wife. The price of this transfer is generally lower than that paid by the first husband, because it is felt that she has lost value complying with the sexual obligations owed to her first husband. One can even cite cases where a woman who has changed her husband three times by this system, without ever having a marriage dissolved or recovering her initial freedom. She is a chattel whose usufruct is always in force.

587 Neither does a married woman recover her freedom on the death of her husband, since she, as his private property, is subject to the general rules /127/ of inheritance and is passed on in accordance with them, first to her late husband's nephews, sons of his sisters; lacking these, to the brothers of her husband through the maternal line; and lacking these, to the dead man's cousins, sons of a maternal aunt. This custom, rigorously observed until a short time ago, has been losing force and today is only effective when the widows are young and coveted by the legitimate heirs of the husband. The older widows refuse to comply with the law or simply are not forced to fulfill this obligation by the heirs. Many young widows of the present day escape from the legitimate heirs to places where they are not obliged to comply with the laws of inheritance and where they can remake their married life to their own convenience. The law, however, gives them a door of escape since it permits them, in cases where they do not wish to live with their husband's heirs, to pay the latter an indemnification.

588 A woman may free herself of her marriage obligations when she commits adultery because her husband mistreats her and makes

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586 home life impossible. If she can prove this, the law exempts the woman's relatives from returning the marriage payment and only obliges them to hand over one of the children of the marriage. In other words, the man's ill-treatment of the woman permits her to abandon the home and return to her maternal one. But in this case, as in any other in which customary law comes into play, it is necessary that the litigant party possess sufficient force to oblige
586 the other party to comply with what is legal. If not, if the
565 offended one is completely in the right but lacks this force, he will never manage to make his just claim effective. They tell of an infinite number of cases in which the acts of cruelty suffered by women of an inferior clan at the hands of their husbands are so grave that any one alone would be sufficient cause to dissolve the marriage through the return of the woman to her maternal home. But the maternal family of the husbands inhibited the women to such an extent that many of them, unable to offer any resistance, died at the hands of their husbands without the law -- so severe in cases in which blood is spilled -- being able to oblige the culprits to pay a suitable payment.

The demoralization which the Guajiro of lower class has suffered due to the different causes we have noted has weakened marriage ties to such a point that the woman considers her obligation broken when her husband emigrates, harassed by the vital necessity to obtain something to feed himself and his family, or when she finds herself abandoned for a long number of years, in which case she /128/ goes away with whoever will satisfy her economic and biological needs, thus dissolving, if not by law at least by act, a tie which may not be broken by anything but her own society, and so breaking up slowly but dangerously the traditional culture of her community.

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VI

MATERNITY

844 Care of the mother at childbirth. The responsibility for the life and well-being of the children is shared by the father and the mother, but it falls directly on the mother when the father is absent from home during her pregnancy or delivery; she must give him a full account of his children, since otherwise he will put in a claim against her for any supposed neglect, making her pay for the death of the child. This is why the woman during the delivery of her child submits to all the customary prescriptions covering these cases and seeks the help of her relatives and their backing, because the responsibility in the last instance will fall on them, since it is they who must pay the corresponding indemnity.

The first child is born in the maternal home. If the mother is not already there, the husband should take her to her maternal home before the event, with the careful attention necessary so that no ill-effects are caused by her traveling. At the moment of delivery she is preferably attended by her mother, or if she is not available, by her eldest aunt or by the most important and knowledgeable aunt in preference to the others, should the first be unavailable. The grandmother may also assist if she is still capable. In the absence of the relatives just mentioned, the sisters are asked to help. The married ones are preferred to the unmarried, but in the event of special urgency one of these will [175] be called in. It would seem that these preferences are due to white influence because in localities less in contact with the said /white/ culture there is less concern in this regard.

For some time now they have been making use of Indian women expert in midwifery, who give their services for a fee. The midwife may be accompanied and aided by the mother of the pregnant woman in the first place or successively by the others just enumerated if they wish to be present and co-operate in the delivery.

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844 At later births the Guajiro mother may be obliged by special circumstances to receive assistance from other persons. When she lives with her husband's relatives she gets help from her mother-in-law or from one of her husband's aunts. If she should be alone and her home is some distance from neighbors, she will arrange beforehand for the presence of a midwife and for her /130/ assistance later or that of a very friendly neighbor. Nevertheless, there are occasions when she can receive no other aid than from her sisters-in-law, and then married women are preferred to single ones. If the woman is alone with her husband, he, being acquainted with the physiological process, will help her because he knows what to do and because circumstances oblige him to intervene. But it is frequent for a woman to give birth alone because the event takes her by surprise on the road while she is traveling, or in the woods while gathering fruit, or in the forest, where she has gone to round up the animals, collect firewood, etc. Also /she gives birth alone/ when her home is located in a remote place and she is unable to get help in time.

The place of birth of the infant varies according to his seniority, that is to say, the first is born -- as we have seen -- in the home of the mother's parents or of her most important uterine kinswoman. It is arranged to occur there for two reasons: so that her relatives may take charge of the case and give better care to the mother and child; and because the birth of the first child is considered the most difficult and if the woman is not with her relatives the latter cannot assume responsibility for her life before the husband, who in the event of his not having taken her to them will have to face the consequences before her relatives, who may present a claim for compensation payment in case of the death of the mother, of the child, or of both. Also included in this is their feeling about the death of a first-born child, which by their magic interpretation requires the mother to submit to a special after-treatment, which is handled by the maternal consanguineous relatives and which has been spoken of in a previous chapter.

/130 cont./

844 The second child is usually born in the house of the husband's parents where the couple sometimes goes to reside. The former in this case take over the responsibility for the life of the child and the welfare of the mother and baby.

The third and subsequent children are born at the place where the parents established their permanent residence.

When the woman can obtain assistance, she waits until she feels the birth pains with a certain intensity and frequency and then calls the woman who will deliver the child. We have no knowledge of the use of any means to accelerate the birth. The woman who acts as midwife gets together beforehand a large gourd for a low seat, which she uses for the birth. She places it on something soft (clothing) or on the ground in the central part of the room, or on a small mound of sand which is covered with cloths onto which the child can fall without getting hurt at the moment of birth.

At the beginning of the delivery the mother walks about the room or the house, and when labor is advanced she is seated on the edge of the seat, or gourd, /131/ with her legs apart, in position to give birth. During the spasms of pain she supports her elbows on her knees and presses her stomach, as she is told to do by her helper, and keeps as still as possible, because otherwise the head of the child as it emerges might be rubbed against the edge of the seat, and thus he might be hurt or even killed, for which she or the midwife could be held to blame and be obliged to pay the husband for the mishap.

Another way of giving birth is to squat when birth is imminent or to kneel, bending forward to help the descent and egress of the baby. Also nowadays the mother is made to lie supine on the ground on some clothes, with her legs drawn up and open.

The child is received into the hands of whoever is assisting the mother, or else the latter bends over to let him fall onto the pile of sand and clothes laid on the floor for this purpose, or when she happens to be outside the home onto some leaves if the birth has given her time to collect them. The mother then awaits the afterbirth, after which she lies in her hammock with her baby

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844 wrapped in clothes either specially prepared for the event or improvised. The umbilical cord has already been tied by the midwife, and in the cases of unaided childbirth the mother does this herself, even cutting it with a splinter of wood and tying it as best she can with a vegetable fiber.

784 844 The midwife or the mother takes the afterbirth out of the house and throws it some distance away (a custom of Upper La Guajira) so that it shall be lost. They believe that if they bury it the newborn baby will have bad luck, will sicken and slowly die practically by wasting away. Nevertheless, there are regions, as in Uribia, where the custom prevails of burying it outside the house; in other parts, as in Jarara, the usual way is to put it under a fireplace /fogón/, which is then lit to give strength to the child and ward off infantile sickness.

845 When the delivery shows signs of complications or is abnormally delayed, the male consanguineous relatives in the house are asked to help by lifting up the woman by her armpits during the spasms of labor pains and by this means accelerate the process. Her husband may help at these moments, but at the present time children, youths, and virgins are not allowed to be present, although there are regions, such as Jarara, where the woman gives birth in a passageway or under the enramada /bough-covered shelter/, in full view of everyone, even her small children. There is no concern at all over this matter; childbirth is considered a normal phenomenon and unmarried women may also be present. /132/

[554] Rich and powerful women go to Maracaibo to have their children when their previous births have been difficult, as there they have clinics and doctors at their disposal.

844 Midwives. The midwife is a woman, usually married, who has lived her own professional experiences and has had further experience among her consanguineous relatives. Practice, inborn ability, and empirical knowledge of the phenomenon give these women a certain technique which makes them so famous that their services are greatly in demand. Some of them also know what care and attention the pregnant woman should receive as regards

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844 diet and the magic preventatives required for a healthy baby and an easy delivery, they also often have a knowledge of the properties of certain herbs of which they make frequent use in the exercise of their profession, as well as the magic requisites necessary to counteract the ill-effects of the violation of some taboo during the period of pregnancy, a transgression which may cause abnormally long labor.

For this reason their services are very efficient and highly valued by the community; on their experience and the success of the cases they handle during their career depend their reputation, their popularity, and the fee they receive.

[554] The midwife's position is an honorable one. This is not an occupation that can be looked down on, although it is not practiced by women of high class, it does give those who exercise it a certain elevation in their familial and general status.

Prior to the birth an arrangement is made regarding the services of the midwife. She is paid according to the economic capacity of the future mother, adding something more to the agreed-on fee when the delivery happens to be extremely prolonged and difficult, that is, when it requires greater effort and assistance than the normal case. The usual payment includes a length of material for a robe (ten yards) of the color and quality requested by the midwife; several bottles of rum (five or more), some ornament, etc. The midwife's request is not always the same but varies in accordance with her personal needs at the time. Also she must be well fed all the time that her presence is necessary in the home of the mother.

846 556 Postnatal regimen. Guajiro mothers follow a special regimen which is in accordance with their social position. Those of strong clan groups who have at their disposal a large number of women servants and slaves can enjoy /133/ the luxury of remaining undisturbed without being bothered by any domestic duties, aided by their maternal kinswomen or those who replace them in caring for them. Guajiro women say that when the first child is born it is customary for the mother to remain in bed and out of the sunlight

/*133 cont.*/

846 556 for one month, taking light food such as thin *mazamorros* with milk, *cojosa* /chicha made of sour milk/, etc.; to be bathed with hot water at daybreak by her kinswomen or by the midwife, who also take charge of the newborn child and of all domestic activities. As the first delivery takes place in the home of her uterine kinswomen, these activities naturally are reduced to a minimum. When the second child arrives, if the delivery has been easy, the period of care is shortened, and in the following deliveries the rest period is restricted to what her domestic duties will permit, as then she gives birth in her own home and in many cases alone.

Among the poorer classes, in which the woman carries the burden of all the domestic chores, such as attending to her husband and carrying out economically lucrative crafts in addition to agricultural work and collecting, etc., the /special/ regimen followed by the mother becomes very attenuated. Her activity is not really interrupted except while she is giving birth and from that moment her normal life continues. In the hamlets on the outskirts of Uribia, we had the opportunity to visit two women who had just given birth. The births had taken place in an *enramada* /bough-covered shelter/, and afterward with the newborn babies in their arms, the mothers went about their ordinary household duties. They did not even protect themselves from the burning rays of the sun, as one of them was out in the open just at midday, cooking *trupillo* pods to eat and going about her other domestic work. In reply to our remarks on this behavior, she said that she did not feel in the least indisposed and she was not accustomed to follow any special regimen at all. We got the same reply from the other Guajiro mother, who said that she had gone on with her normal activities the same afternoon that she had had her child. One woman was from Jarara and the other from upper La Guajira.

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VII

THE CACIQUE

614 622 Authority in La Guajira is not concentrated but is distributed among each of the clan groups into which society is divided. It is practically a hierarchy, whose primary nucleus is the small family, after which follows the extended family, which includes uncles and aunts /Spanish tíos/, cousins, nephews and nieces /Spanish sobrinos/ on the maternal side, and, finally, the clan, into which are collected all individuals bearing the same surname and possessing the same symbol animal. It can therefore be said that in La Guajira there is no authority which imposes its will on the collectivity. There are, however, mestizo individuals who, owing to their economic position and social status, have acquired a measure of authority over their Guajiro relatives and over other local groups, an authority that is exercised although not legally recognized. Because of their outstanding economic position these mestizos keep on subordinating a series of people around them: their servants with their families, their many wives and children and the families of these latter who depend directly upon them; with the economic subordination comes submission of will. The authority of these mestizos is increased furthermore because of the influence they have with civilizado /nonnative/ groups because of their personal dealings with them, and their facility in mediating facing the civilizados gives them a superior position within the collectivity. To this class of individuals the name "cacique" is given, even by the Indians themselves, but they are not caciques in the true sense of the word.

622 In La Guajira there is another institution which is also called caciquism, which we will continue to describe briefly below.

The necessary conditions for being a cacique in the Guajiro sense and the attributes and responsibilities of the position are the following.

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622 1. The cacique's maternal family must be strong in masculine elements who are ready to back up his decisions and enforce compliance to his will.

2. He must be a Guajiro and of high social standing. /136/

3. He as well as his relatives must be rich, possessing goods, represented above all by animals, which is what gives most prestige in the eyes of the other natives.

4. He must tener palabra /literally, "have word"/, that is
622 to say, he must have oratorical talents (Cf. Valuation of the
537 Woman, in chapter on Premarital Considerations, and Compensation payment for death, in chapter on Law), because from this skill he derives one of his principal attributes: acting as intermediary in the putchis, or wars between clans, and in all quarrels between groups and individuals. Tener palabra is the primary and basic talent for the acquisition of prestige as a cacique, for on this gift of oratory, on the practical knowledge of native psychology and of traditional law which guides him in his decisions, depends the success of his arbitrations.

620 The opinions of the cacique, mediator, or orator /Spanish palabra, lit. "word"/ -- all of which titles he has -- are respected, his counsel is asked for, his help is solicited in time of need, his opinion is consulted in the varying circumstances of the life of his kin and of others who know him. His accurate deductions and prudence keep strengthening his power until he becomes the headman of a district, which sees in him its representative and lawyer in all its problems and expects from him in exchange for the submission made to him, that he be capable of winning every time and easily dominating every abnormal situation that might arise.

In every family group one of these caciques will be found in power and one or more others capable of succeeding him, but circumstances will eliminate competitors until only one remains.

The authority of a headman is recognized primarily by his extended family group, but outstanding qualities of one of these family heads may cause his influence to be extended to other groups who, by considering him more powerful and influential

/136 cont./

622 than their own head, will solicit his intervention in special problems, especially when these refer to personal differences with groups stronger than themselves. This attitude is taken with the approval of the other caciques, who also on occasion will add his efforts to assist him when he wants to impose his point of view on another very strong clan group.

When a pact in which he has mediated or lent his assistance is not complied with, he must resort to force, if the noncompliance of the opposing party drives him to this extreme, so as not to lose his power and authority, and he has to give examples of great personal courage, exposing himself more than the others who go to back him up, if he does not wish to lose credit in the opinion of his own people as well as of outsiders, but to give the impression of a real headman, successfully directing any warlike actions that may develop. He should let himself be killed before yielding in his task, /137/ and fight on until he has made the enemy comply with the pact made and agree to the recognition of his authority and to complete submission. In this fighting all his relatives in the maternal line join up with him, but not his [913] own sons, because, as we know, these do not form part of his family and if they were wounded, their maternal relatives would present a claim for compensation payment against the father, and thus the number of his enemies would be increased. However, at the present time, through the influence of the *civilizados*, the son is following and backing up his father in spite of Goajiro law.

Another of the functions of the cacique is to counsel his people and those who recognize his authority and who seek his opinion in any of their problems. In these cases his advice is to be prudent. He exhorts them to comply with the law; He obliges the thief to return the stolen goods, and he reprimands him for his felonious action; he tries to arrange that those in enmity over the spilling of blood arrive at an equitable settlement to avoid later reprisals; he asks the women to be faithful to their husbands; he mediates in conjugal arguments and quarrels, trying to obtain from the men more consideration for their wives.

/127 cont./

622 As he is the recognized family head, his own conduct should be strictly in accordance with Goajiro laws, although this does not imply that he does not try to obtain the maximum advantages, even beyond those stipulated, when he intervenes in his own peoples' affairs.

His own personal superiority obliges him to show his economic strength. In every collection that may be made for the marriage of a relative of his, or for any other kind of payment, he should head the list with a good subscription which should in no case be less than any other contributor's. At wakes he should do likewise, and also, by his authority, oblige all his own people to contribute adequately, as this establishes the good name of the family group which he heads and directs.

He ought to be kindly, sociable, and cordial with all, listen to all complaints calmly and patiently, be ready to help everyone, he should keep his house open to everyone, for his hospitality must be the most ample and welcoming.

The office of the cacique is transmitted in two ways. It is inherited, in which case it passes to a nephew, the son of a sister, and it is acquired by virtue of personal and family merit, high social and economic position, facility in oratory, knowledge of native psychology, a suave but energetic character, power of conviction, friendliness, and diplomatic talents. /128/

VIII

SLAVERY AND BOND SERVICE

567 Causes of slavery. Slavery is always an outcome of the violation of the regimen for social stability in the community; this means that if an offense is committed against a member of one of the consanguineous groups (totemic clans) existing in La Goajira,

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567 punishment is inflicted on all the members of the offender's group, punishment that may reach the point of slavery. To clarify this, we quote an example: If a member of the Uriyú clan, or consanguineous group, should kill, for whatever reason, a member of the Jusayú group, an aggressive situation arises. The proceedings to resolve it are as follows: The offended group sends its delegate, or orator /Spanish *palabra*, lit., "word"/, to the offender group to request the indemnity for the offense received. In its turn the offender group appoints its orator, or intermediary, and these two come to an agreement to establish the terms necessary for solving the conflict, terms which consist of the special payment which the offender group must pay to the family of the dead person, generally paid in livestock (cattle, horses, sheep, goats, etc.), precious necklaces and jewels. If the payment agreed on, to which all the members of the offender group will have to contribute, is paid, the problem is settled. But if, on the contrary, the offender's group refuses to pay the sum demanded by the offended, that is, if the two sides do not arrive at a settlement, a state of war without quarter is declared: each group looks for alliances with other clans and, as a result, the original act committed against social stability can involve practically all of La Guajira in war. Alliances between groups are established on the basis of kinship or of marriage unions.

As a result of the conquest of one of the groups, slavery appears. All the members of the defeated group who were not killed in the war or could not manage to escape fall into the hands of the victors and are considered from that moment to be slaves without restriction to age, sex, or *status*.

It should be pointed out that for a situation such as the one we have given as an example to arise, it is essential that the offended person belong to an /140/ economically stronger clan than that of the offender or that he be united by marriage alliance or some other tie with such an economically stronger clan. In the case of the offended person's belonging to an economically weaker clan, without allies and few in number, his clan will always reach an agreement, because in every case the weaker group will have

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567 to accept the conditions proposed by the other, owing to its inability to defend itself. Furthermore, when the offender clan is very inferior to that of the offended person then claims are not even presented, the stronger group proceeds directly against the weaker and exterminates or enslaves its members.

The condition of conflict which we have described in the previous paragraphs is reached not only after homicide or after a delict involving bloodshed, but also for abduction of women, proven adultery, etc., when the indemnity claimed by the clan of the offended party has not been paid.

(For further information read the chapter on Law).

721 It is also very important to note that in La Guajira, wars are not intentionally made with the manifest aim of acquiring slaves by the defeat of another group; slavery in La Guajira, as we have stated, is a consequence of the violation of the code of social order and not an end in itself. It is, then, a social punishment, not a commercial or economic institution. So much is this so, that female slaves are sold at low prices and male slaves may even become an economic burden which the owner bears rather than giving them freedom.

Control and regulation. Slaves and their property are divided according to the social position of the participants of the victorious group in the following way: by the head, who is usually the maternal uncle of highest prestige in the small family group initially offended; or by the mother; or the eldest son appointed by the mother; or, finally, by the head who acted as leader of the punitive expedition. First, the part going to the injured family is handed over as payment for the offense. Of this sum the greater part is for the mother, then another share goes to the maternal uncles /and aunts? tios/, after this some part to the nephews /and nieces, sobrinos/, and, finally, a share to the brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ of the man directly offended. Of the remaining booty, the greatest and best part goes to the head of the expedition if he does not belong to the same small family as the injured man; the balance is then divided among

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567 those who took part in the war. If the head of the expedition is a maternal uncle of the offended man, his share is considered as already included in the portion which his small family receives. Also, when an expedition enslaves captives, its chief will usually later distribute /141/ among his close relatives part of the booty which has come to him: first to his mother, then to his sisters and his aunts, and then to the rest of his relatives, if there is a sufficient number /of slaves/; the same is done by the rest of the relatives /of the injured family/ when the booty has been considerable; booty includes slaves and their personal property, real property, and their livestock. As a general rule, slaves acquired by the defeat of a group become the property of the relatives of the injured man as a recompense for the wrong done.

Treatment of slaves. The slave is considered by his master as a thing, as any item of property; he can dispose of him freely, either selling him, giving him away, or making use of his labor; 838 he can take female slaves as his women and make use of the males in homosexual practices if he is deviant in this way. He may even kill them without it being considered a social offense /falta/, because of the fact that as the slave belongs to a consanguineous group which has been annihilated or at least conquered, no one can make a claim for his death. Women slaves may be used as objects of pleasure by the sons or the maternal nephews /sic/ of the master as soon as they reach the age of puberty, the age at which boys begin to seek them out to require love making without their parents being aware of the fact, obliging them to have sexual relations about which they are unable to protest, as the boy is, in a way, also their master; it appears /moreover/ that female slaves customarily are willing to accede to the wishes of the boy.

Rights and privileges of slaves. The slave has to be fed by the master, who generally gives him the remains from his meals, although he may at times give him corn to make mazamorra; clothing also must be supplied by the owner, and it is considered an obligation of the master to supply wives for male slaves, for

/141 cont./
567 which purpose he gives them women slaves he owns, or buys for them women of a poor clan for whom he will pay an insignificant price, ten male goats, for example. When a slave becomes pregnant by one of the master's sons, the mother must allow the slave's pregnancy to proceed normally and limit herself to reproaching the boy.

Rights, privileges, and powers of the master. Masters are absolute owners of the goods of their slaves. As slavery is always the consequence of war between two clan groups /caused/ by an offence by one against the other, /142/ the property of all the members of the conquered group passes under the control of the victors according to the system of distribution explained above. That is, the fields, pastures, woods, water, wells, domestic utensils, clothes, livestock, jewelry, etc., of the conquered group become the property of the conquerors. As regards the slaves themselves, we have the following facts: Males are put to work by the master in all activities, especially in agriculture
838 and pasturing, and are made use of as objects of homosexual pleasure if the master is a /sexual/ deviant. (We have no data on homosexuality as social etiquette, that is, lending a slave for homosexual practices to sodomitical guests). The owner may punish his slaves freely even to killing them.

Women /slaves/ are used, as we saw previously, in domestic labor, weaving, etc; they are obliged to act as wet nurses of the children of the master at his wife's request. In this case, the slave's child has to be weaned and brought up on corn *mazamorra*; the slaves also carry out the role of nursemaids to the children, and are used as objects of sexual pleasures by the master, the master's sons, and his guests, following a formula of social etiquette in La Guajira. We do not know of any datum which can confirm homosexuality practiced with female slaves by their mistresses, nor of the corresponding aspect of hospitality.

In remote times, old women, young women, girls, and youths, boys, and adult males were enslaved, but at the present time it is almost a norm to keep only women as slaves of war.

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567 The owner, or better the person to whom human booty goes after the war, may keep men as slaves or simply kill them off; the latter is usually done now for fear of having to support and /thus/ give opportunities to an adult who wants to avenge himself; at the same time male children will be killed to avoid the similar risk of vengeance when the youngsters reach manhood, as it has been demonstrated that when a slave has been placed in such a state in his childhood, he waits until the head who conquered his family has grown old and then kills him, often torturing him first.

The owner may sell his female slaves as wives for free men; from that moment he loses his rights over them as these are transferred to the husband. They are also accustomed to selling young slaves of both sexes for the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the haciendas of Venezuela and Magdalena department in Columbia, and for other Columbian and /143/ Venezuelan cities. They do this instead of killing them in order to get some economic usufruct. Finally, at any time they can kill any /of their/ slaves, man or woman.

Punishment of slaves at times reaches the point of savagery. They tell, for example, of a native family which had as a slave a girl of tender age, who on a certain occasion disobeyed an order of her mistress; for punishment her hands were pushed into a fire, and as a consequence of the burns the child lost both of them. The child was found later in the woods -- her mistress in addition to burning her hands had thrown her out of the house -- biting off the green portions of a cactus with her teeth to feed herself as she could not gather them with her hands, whose flesh was putrid and eaten by worms; the child was suffering incredibly from hunger and thirst. She was taken to the Capuchin mission, where they gave her medical attention and where she is now living. The Indians of Nazaret when telling about this act of savagery spoke of it with horror.

Slave trade. Slave trade in La Guajira has three principal aspects: a) trade between natives; b) trade between natives and whites; c) trade between whites.

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567 In relation to the first aspect we have the following facts.

1. A master sells his women slaves for three ends: a) as wives for free Indians at very low prices; b) for domestic service in the homes of other Indian families, who in this manner acquire ownership of the slave; c) for social etiquette, when importuned by a friend.

In the first case it can be said that the woman is freed, while in the other cases she remains in her position of slavery and only experiences a change of owner.

2. Men slaves are sold to another free Indian who needs manual labor in his agricultural and pasturing work; the slave keeps his same social status.

3. Furthermore, the Guajiro also sells his slaves to whites (white being understood to be all who are not Guajiro), either in the interior of the peninsula or in the islands or neighboring lands. The young men are sold to be brought to the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, where they customarily escape with frequency, traveling as stowaways on ships; when they reach La Guajira they regain their freedom. Slaves are also sold to the haciendas of Venezuela, especially those devoted to the cultivation of cacao and sugar cane or stock raising. In these places slavery reaches a point of /144/ maximum expression, for the slave is branded with the brand of the owner of the hacienda, loses his Indian surname, and is renamed after the owner or hacienda where he works. The slaves sometimes escape from these haciendas also, but only with great difficulty, for on fleeing they are pursued in what becomes a veritable man hunt.

Prepubescent girls are frequently sold to be carried outside the peninsula by whites. Usually they escape on reaching puberty and return to La Guajira, where as a general rule they regain their freedom. This sale of young Guajiro girls has given rise to an extensive trade in which individuals of the department of Magdalena in Colombia, of Venezuela, and of the adjacent islands take part. At times it reaches scandalous extremes, and it has become a source of riches to th -called

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567 Guajiro "caciques," who are no more than mestizos or mulattos who take advantage of the unfortunate social situation of the Guajiro Indians and exploit them for commercial gain, making themselves absolute masters over human lives and possessions.

The Capuchin mission with their establishments in Nazaret and Ríohacha buys slave children to educate them in the orphanage under their charge and to give them back their freedom. Until recently, the Colombian government included in the budget a subsidy given to the mission for carrying out their activities, a sum for the purchase of these slave children. For some years, however, the appropriation of this sum has not been forthcoming.

The trade in Indian slaves between white women or women civilizados is found especially in the districts bordering on Venezuela and in the department of Magdalena, but up to the present we do not know the intimate details of this traffic.

Permanence of the status of slavery. The individual taken as a slave retains this status during his lifetime unless some special occurrence brings him his freedom. His children may or may not remain in the condition of slaves according to the character of their birth with respect to the matrimonial or extramatrimonial unions, which we can define as: (1) the children of men and women slaves are slaves and belong to the owner of their parents; (2) children of a slave father and free mother are not slaves even if the mother has been bought by the owner as a wife for his slave, since according to the Guajiro custom of affiliation they belong to the mother. These children, however, have certain characteristics of bond servants although these are not well defined. The wedding payment made for the first daughter /145/ of this marriage belongs to the owner, who is thus repaid for what he paid for the mother. The children of these mixed marriages go to serve in the house of their parent's master. Generally, their own parents sell them when they are children as bond servants for Aruba, Curaçao, Ríohacha, Maracaibo, Barranquilla, and Santa Marta. When they become adult they often return to La Guajira, but as they belong to a

/145 cont./

567 conquered group they lack all rights in their society, since they are exiled from their original home, without consanguineous relatives because of the extinction of their clan or because of its poverty; consequently, they remain marginal to society in the class of pariahs; for this reason, women, on returning, resort almost without exception to prostitution. (3) The children of a slave woman and free father retain the mark of the mother unless she has been bought as a wife.

Manumission. The three forms of manumission of slaves known to us are the following:

1. By flight from the home of their masters. The slave, nevertheless, remains in a rather difficult position.
2. By purchase of female slaves as wives for free men.
3. By purchase of girl and boy slaves by the Capuchin mission to educate them in an orphanage and give them their freedom.

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538 Slavery in oral literature. Slavery is mentioned in the oral narratives of the natives that refer to legends as much as it is in those that have the character of true histories. Of these we can present two: One is connected with the Kusina Indians /renegade Guajiro, more commonly spelled Cocina. -- Ed./ who one night decided to steal the livestock of an Indian called Kurírapáta of the Sierra de Jarara, who, while defending himself was shot in the thigh by the marauders. The story relates that Kurírapáta was picked up by his sisters and taken to their home, and that one night he dreamt that he should swallow a charm (a túma, "precious stone") and leave his wife, taking in exchange for her one of his female slaves. He carried out what his dream had commanded him; he swallowed the túma and called in one of his slaves, saying to her, "Come with me; you are to be my wife." In this way he cured his ailment.

In the narration of the Guajiro myth, the shaman Umaralá recounts how he received on the death of his aunt -- who had a great affection for him -- all her possessions as inheritance, and among them, her slaves. Disillusioned by sorrow over

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567 the death of his aunt, Umaralá dedicated himself to living in
538 a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There
he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interest-
175 ing aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro
567 slavery among these natives, which was at its height during
648 the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth
and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the
[114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last
section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

1. Julián, Antonio:
La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

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discourses/. Madrid, by
don Antonio de Sancha. 1787.
1st III, 12. NOTE: all italics
are ours.

Further on, he repeats the reference in these terms: "The value given them by the buyers is represented by three kinds of things. For the pearls, the foreigners give them: firearms, nails, and even *slaves*, in addition to cloth brought from Europe. . . . " (2)

2. Ibid., 1st V, 19.

More explicit in relation to the problem is the following paragraph: "The Guajiro are fishers of pearls which they sell to the dealers, who in turn sell them to certain brigs and packetboats in exchange for spirits, *Negro slaves*, and firearms." (3)

3. Ibid., 2nd XII, 187.

And finally he ends by outlining the duties that these Negro slaves carried out and the recial mixing that resulted between them and the Indians in the paragraph which we transcribe as follows: ". . . He then gave me two rather useful pieces of information which I, impelled by zeal for the good of the Guajiro Nation and of the Monarchy, now retell. /147/ The first is the provision of arms and knowledge of their use which they get from constant trade and contact with foreigners, and the second is that through these /foreigners/ have now been introduced male and female Negroes and intermarriage with the same Indians who buy them and keep them as slaves, and this leads not only to an increase in the number of people among the Guajiro but also to an increase in a diversity of fearsome races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who, united with the Guajiro, will make this Nation formidable

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175 ever more and more and more difficult to conquer. In fact,
567 when we came into the lands of the Guajiro the Cacique came
648 to meet us with two Negroes as lackeys, dressed in bright red
uniforms with all the corresponding facings and braid, something which was quite a novelty to me and made a deep impression." (1)

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1. Ibid., 2nd XIV, 159.

BOND SERVICE

566 There is a fundamental difference between the concepts of slavery and bond service in La Guajira. While it is certainly true that in both cases the liberty of the individual is restricted, it is also true that it is restricted in different degrees. Similarly, we can state that while in slavery the owner has absolute rights over the person of the slave, in the case of bond service he has power only over his working potential.

Bond service includes certain groups whose economic, social, and numerical situation has weakened; they are clans which, to a certain point, are without effective male backing and who for this reason attach themselves, if not by law at least by act, to a family of superior position belonging to a strong group, in exchange for the use of their services.

Origin. Bond service has three causes. First, the voluntary sale of men and women, and particularly of children /en la edad infantile/, by their immediate owners, the mother, the maternal uncle of most authority, the grandmother, and the maternal aunts being considered as such; second, when a group cannot comply satisfactorily with its economic-social commitments, such as the payment of debts, indemnity for an offense, etc.; and, third, in cases of social inferiority in which the application of the law is up to the offended party, and certain members are taken from the lower social group as bond servants, especially when the offense committed is robbery.

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566 *Obligations of the master.* It is obligatory on the part of the master to supply his bond servants with quarters, clothing, and food; in this last respect /food/ the bond servants occupy the lowest place together with the slaves, that is, they get the leavings from the master's meals, and special food made for them consists almost entirely of corn *mazamorra*.

Duties of bond servants. Female bond servants are generally employed in domestic work: cooking, drawing and carrying water, collecting firewood, picking cultivated fruit, gathering wild fruit, taking care of the masters' children, nursing sick members of the house, and going with the masters when needed to carry out these duties while the latter are on the move.

The men on their part engage in agricultural activities during the times of the year when this is possible and regularly work at pasturing; beyond these labors they have to do others in the masters houses with regard to work that requires masculine co-operation.

Their legal position in the Guajiro community can be described thus: As they are not members of a clan group exterminated by war but rather lowered by their precarions economic circumstances, their position and rights are in intimate relation with the social power their group may still have. This means that if the group to which a bond servant belongs, by alliance or by any other circumstance, is able to present a compensation claim to the master, it can in this way keep the bond servant from being mistreated, made to shed blood, or killed, for in any of these cases the bond servant's relatives may make a claim against the master or perhaps attack him, and he will find himself obliged to pay the indemnity.

Any violation or abuse committed on a female bond servant evokes a demand for the corresponding payment, made not by the master, as in the case of slavery, but by the bond servant's own relatives. The same thing happens in cases of pregnancy.

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All this indicates to us that the bond servant is an individual 566 who in spite of not being able to freely dispose of his labor is an active member of society. His services are not voluntary, but he is ruled by the general norms which govern the community: His life is respected, his women may not be sexually assaulted nor taken as wives without their own consent, and, above all, his children are always free and all the family property remains in their hands or those of their relatives.

Rights of the master. The master has the right to make free use of his bond servants in all the manual labors he considers necessary /149/ and the right to sell them, but no matter how often the bond servant changes masters, the sale refers to the use of his labor, not to his person.

Sexual life of bond servants. Women bought as bond servants are not sexually under the control of their masters or of his family. However, when their consanguineous relatives live so far away that they cannot exercise their influence, female bond servants are taken advantage of by their masters, not by right but by act. This situation of relative sexual freedom means that they are besieged by men more than are slave women, as the latter are protected by their master. As a consequence 548 of this state of affairs, female bond servants frequently become prostitutes through not having the protection either of their masters or of their relatives.

It may happen that the owner falls in love with one of his bond servants and has sexual relations with her, in which case his wife ill-treats her and turns her out; then the master may decide to buy her from her relatives, continue to cohabit with her (polygamy), and not infrequently he may abandon his first home.

If a bond servant should become pregnant her relatives present the claim for compensation payment to the group of the man responsible for the situation.

When a man has lived with a bond servant, and her relatives present a claim for compensation payment, two possibilities

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566 are open to him: to pay for the abuse and the troubles caused by pregnancy and birth, thereby losing all right to the woman, or to buy her as a wife. In the latter case she is liberated from the position of bond servant, since some of the money paid for her in marriage is used to pay off the debt to her master which gave rise to her bond service. The sale of the bond servant may also be negotiated directly with the master, a sum being paid to him which makes it possible to free her, and another sum being handed over to the woman's relatives.

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548 Prostitution. The female bond servant, like the slave who is sold to the whites, will escape from the house where she has to give her services and return to the peninsula, and if the control of her relatives in authority is absent, she readily turns to prostitution, it not being unusual that she has started this way of life during her time of service. When her relatives stand in the way, she may also prostitute herself behind their backs, trying to avoid in this way the consequences of the sexual commerce, or compensating them with part of her earnings. This situation may be considered abnormal in the Guajiro social system, as prostitution is considered to be /150/ outside the law. But when the demands of hunger are felt, due to the prolonged summer /droughts/, the situation becomes normal in the social levels less favored economically, and families have to tolerate their single women prostituting themselves and assisting with what they receive from their commerce in the maintenance of the other members.

566 Situation of the children. The children of a female bond servant are always free; frequently they work in the house of their mother's master as compensation for the cost of their keep, but legally they are free.

Trade. During the fierce summers that scorch La Guajira Peninsula, which seem to follow a 25- or 30-year cycle, the sale of human beings as bond servants becomes more intense. It is at these times that poor families are obliged to part with relatives they can do without, especially those who cannot

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566 contribute to their upkeep, with the aim of getting rid of this obligation and at the same time getting money to help sustain the rest of the family. These bond servants are sold abroad, into Venezuela and the Dutch islands and with the cities of Barranquilla, Ríohacha, Santa Marta, and a large area of the department of Magdalena for work on the stock-raising haciendas; this is a trade between Indians and whites. They also sell children to other native families but on a much smaller scale, as it is rare for an Indian to buy another Indian openly in order to use him as a bond servant; for bond service among the Guajiro is usually brought about by way of payment for a theft or a debt, or by taking advantage of the weak situation of poor groups to compel them to work in service.

Persons sold as bond servants are generally children or youths who are beginning to look after themselves and can be put to work. In Venezuela these bond servants are used as agricultural hands on the haciendas, where there is a scarcity of labor due to the competition of near-by oil fields and the demand for workers in dock work, where the laborer can get higher wages. Females, wherever they may be as bond servants, are used for domestic service.

The attitude of the whites regarding the problem of bond service in La Guajira takes various forms: one is to take advantage of the native's wretched situation, in which the white figures as intermediary in the purchase of children and young people of both sexes and takes them to the /151/ buying centers to fulfill a commitment he has made to another, or else simply to resell them and make a profit. The bond servant thus is converted into an object of trade, showing a good margin of profit for the merchants who carry on this traffic. At the present time one finds cases of recruiters, owners of haciendas or managers from Venezuela who buy bond servants for agricultural work.

There is another passive atttitude that regards bond service as an established fact and tolerates it without direct intervention. Finally, there is the position taken by the Capuchin

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566 mission, which is to buy bond servants and slaves, educate them, and then return their lost freedom.

Center of forced bond service and centers of sale. The Sierra de Jarara is the region where bond service most commonly originates, because of the obligatory loss of personal freedom that results when not able to fulfill a pending obligation or pay a debt, or when a poor native, during the summer (which because of geophysical conditions is more severe here than in the rest of the peninsula), is forced by hunger to steal animals. The injured party is paid by taking away from the thief, who has no other means of paying damages, a boy or girl, usually his maternal nephew or niece.

On the other hand, the major sale center and the true distribution market for bond servants is Maicao, because of its being in Lower La Guajira which is another of the Guajira regions which suffers most cruelly from long summers and in which women do not have the economic resources which those of Upper La Guajira have, such as supplying /traders with/ woven articles, but have to live without /productive/ employment /of any sort/, and in consequence without means of supporting themselves and their families. For these reasons mothers are forced to sell both their unmarried daughters as bond servants and their younger children. The fact of Maicao's being on the only commercial route between Venezuela and Colombia is also a contributing factor. /152/

/153/ IX

SICKNESS AND DEATH

755 "...in the aspect of Guajiro medical treatment there are four different factors which we can define in principle as follows:

1. Medicine exercised directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

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755 2. Medicine through divination, dependent or independent of the shaman and which creates another social position not very well defined: that of diviner.

3. Medicine which we might call home treatment, independent both of the shaman and the diviner, which is applied through the pragmatic knowledge of the curative properties of plants, by observation of certain customs related to taboo and which, as we shall see later, are of the preventative type.

4. Medicine as practiced by foreigners. This last factor must have had its origin in historic ethnography, and it seems to us to be difficult to classify. It deals with the medical intervention of the curanderos /curers/ of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, to whom, on certain occasions, the Guajiro Indians go for treatment. . .(1)."

1. Cf. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto: Aspectos de la magia en la Guajira, IV - 52 and 53 in Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, VI, III, No. 1. Bogotá, 1950.

[75] For these reasons when a Guajiro child becomes sick, if his relatives are well-to-do they send for a woman diviner to determine the causes of the illness and to prescribe the corresponding curative system. When the patient is an adult and his illness shows no serious symptoms, they call in the herbalists (women who know the curative properties of certain plants), or they use their personal knowledge, that is, what we call "home" cures. If it is a matter of a serious chronic illness, they will most certainly use the services of a curandero of the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ tribe (Indians of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta), whom the relatives of the sick man go to see, or the latter himself if it is possible. This curandero supplies

/153 cont./
755 him with a series of magic remedies and medicinal plants
which have been fully described in the article /154/ previous-
ly cited. Also at the present time it is not uncommon for
them to call in the services of a white doctor, either in Uribia,
the capital of the peninsula, or in the near-by cities of
Venezuela, such as Maracaibo, or in the neighboring Colombian
department of Magdalena.

But their culture possesses a traditional institution that
756 answers these requirements: the shaman, whose essential
755 activity has been fully treated in the work which we cited at
177 the beginning of this chapter and to which we refer the reader.
This institution, perhaps the most powerful in Guajiro culture,
has been losing value for various reasons already studied in the
article we have cited, but it still occupies an outstanding place
within the social and cultural whole, to the point that when
an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives think immediately of the
shaman as the most advisable means of curing the sick man,
as this functionary (the shaman) possesses considerable magic
powers due to his having been selected by the benevolent
spirits to be their intermediary in their frequent contacts with
the community. For this reason, to obtain the aid of the
shaman is to have in one's favor the friendship and co-operation
of the well-wishing spirits who can save the patient from death,
[763] because for the Guajiro, illness is caused by the action of
pernicious spirits who want to cause harm and to avenge them-
selves.

755 The first necessary condition for the shaman to take charge
of the cure is the gift to him of a piece of jewelry, an orna-
[431] ment of gold, generally a necklace, /the value of/ which
should be in relation to the family status of the patient as well
as the standing of the shaman. A second condition is the tacit
submission to the shaman's demands and instructions.

The shaman, once he has decided to take charge of the cure of the patient, goes to his house and submits the sick man to the customary ritual. His practices, which last several

/154 cont./

755 days and can even be drawn out for months, are a mixture of incantations and invocations, accompanied by canticles; massages with spittle mixed with chewed tobacco; sucking of the painful parts of the sick man's body; the application of his empirical knowledge of the medicinal use of plants; and the propitiation of the spirits of sickness and of death -- wanurú -- by means of gifts which the patient or his relatives supply in order to obtain the victorious return of the patient's spirit to his body and with this his definite cure. As soon as he has secured this objective, the shaman calls for the celebration of a feast. /155/

If on arriving to give his services, the shaman can see, by some magic process which he explains, that there is no hope for the sick man, he will withdraw. For the patient there is no other possibility open but to wait for death -- which usually occurs shortly after.

755 782 It is also up to the shaman to decide what sacrifices should be offered to propitiate the adverse spirits when these are preparing a harmful incident for a Guajiro. Generally, this harmful incident implicitly involves the death of the individual who, with the sacrifices and propitiations recommended by the shaman, will counteract the action, canceling it. If the recommendation is not followed, the prediction will be fulfilled. Guajiro tradition narrates among many cases the following: An old female shaman foretold a *Pushaina* (1) individual that he would die at the hands of a member of his own clan and that a series of bloody events would occur as a consequence of his death. To avoid these happenings she told him he would have to make a sacrifice of several animals and bathe himself with their blood. The suggestion was not followed, and every one of the calamities occurred just as the shaman had forecast.

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(1) Pushaina: name of a Guajiro clan.

/155 cont./

Any person who dreams of a future happening and the ways 755 of avoiding it can predict in place of the shaman. During our stay in Uribia a chicha-maya dance took place, and a series of propitiatory sacrifices were made which were repeated for three nights. The mother of a Guajiro dreamt that her son would be killed by the husband of a woman with whom he was maintaining illicit relations.

It can happen that the shaman practices his curative system and his efforts do not have the hoped-for result. When death occurs, the shaman withdraws after returning the presents that his spirit had demanded, if his treatment was ineffective. In many cases, however, he keeps them for himself when he 764 can find an excuse to justify his failure. As soon as the relatives learn of the death of the sick man, they rapidly cover him and leave him in peace for about half an hour, so that his spirit before going to the place where he will live henceforth may "retrace his steps," that is to say, may roam about among the places familiar to him and say good-by to his friends and relatives. During these moments the persons visited by him feel his presence, which is manifested in some manner and lets them understand by various means the object of his visit. When this time has passed, his whole body is bathed with water and soap; mostly his closest relatives take part in this operation, men and women, in the maternal line and after them the affinal relatives (wife, sons-in-law, and /156/ daughters-in-law). After being bathed the corpse is carefully dried, and if it is a woman her face is covered with paint of the color and kind which she preferred when living because, as she is going visiting according to their belief, she should comply with this precept of etiquette since, if not, she might feel ashamed on meeting her friends and relatives. The paint is also intended to protect her from the action of the sun's rays on the long trip she has to make. They adorn her with all the jewelry she possessed. If she had a large number of earrings, for example, all of them must be

/156 cont./

764 fixed in her ears suspended in a chain, starting with those of her
greatest preference; all her necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and
rings must be placed on the corresponding part of her body. If
the deceased is a man, they also put on his jewelry, as his spirit
764 will need them in the other life to maintain his status beyond the
grave. If he belonged to the rich class, he is shrouded in the
554 following manner: First, they cover his head with a special cloth
woven by his wives; the bottom of the cloth covers his face,
and the ends are fixed behind his head. Over this is placed a
second cloth which reaches down to the belt and pins the arms
laterally along the body. A third cloth covers the legs, and a
fourth may be added to wrap the whole body, but the use of this
latter has been gradually disappearing. Thus enshrouded, he is
put in the *enramada* /bough-covered shelter/ within the coffin
[173] -- modern custom -- or enveloped in a still fresh hide and placed
in a hammock. Then the lamentations begin.

The custom exists of sending to all the absent consanguineous
764 relatives, the most intimate friends, and in general all ac-
quaintances, word of the death or of the patient's being near death,
as the illness is made known from the first moment, especially
[202 to close relatives. If they are important people, runners are sent
554] as soon as the rich man worsens, so that at the time of his death,
the house is already full of people. As those who arrive to show
their sympathy are so many and they appreciate how impossible
it is for the master and mistress of the house to offer them all
adequate hospitality, the visitors arrive with their hammocks,
water in large pitchers, food, etc., which they bring on their
burros.

The messenger sent with the news, especially when he
764 carries it to a consanguineous relative of the deceased, knows
551 that he must not pronounce the dead man's name, as this would
[202] gravely offend his relatives. For that reason he usually says:
"That relative of yours who lived in such-and-such a place, who
did such-and-such an important thing, has died." Furthermore,
none of those attending /the funeral ceremonies/ will pronounce

/136 cont./

764 551 the name of the dead man in front of anyone, again for fear of offending his relatives, /137/ who, although they may not be present, might be informed by someone looking for payment for talebearing.

764 152 [illegible] One by one as the persons notified arrive, they express their sympathy. The form of doing so is as follows: The /dead man's/ kinsmen are seated on the ground, or nowadays more generally in the interior of the house (the new customs require the female relatives to remain inside the house seated on the floor, with their faces covered with a large cloth black like the robe they wear). When the outsider arrives he sits down beside them. Then begins the lamentation of the mourner, who mourns with his head bent forward, covered, as is his face. He cries for a more or less prolonged time, interspersing his weeping with short phrases which refer to his sorrow and his loss. He ends his lament, which is taken up by the visitor, and once he has finished they give the traditional Goajiro salutation, initiated by the mourner. They all begin to cry again in chorus, which they suspend to recount the process of the man's death in all its details.

Around the corpse are slung a series of hammocks at graded heights, which are occupied by the closest women relatives as they take turns in the weeping or by a newly arrived one, who, after expressing her sorrow to the family, must weep near the corpse, bending forward over the coffin and placing a hand on it, a magic action which will help her to dream of the deceased. In this position, the visitor, whether outsider or consanguineous relative, weeps in that tone and manner characteristic of the culture, which rather than weeping is like an intoned, melancholy complaint. The Goajiro men weep in a different manner, giving shouts of despair at intervals, without any definite timing. They do this standing up, bending over the coffin and covering their faces with a cloth, a hat, or a hand. On asking some outsiders, participants at a wake, how they were able to cry so intensely and realistically, they explained

/157 cont./

764 152 that it was not really for the dead man that they kept vigil, because many times he might be unknown to them, but for the evocation before the corpse of the total sufferings of their group and their personal sorrows.

While visitors and part of the maternal and closest paternal relatives take their places around the deceased in order to take their turn in keeping up continual wailing, the remaining relatives of the dead man comply with the norms of hospitality and courtesy customary on such occasions, which are to receive the sympathy of those who arrive, to serve drink to the men, and to constantly maintain the funeral spirit. The maternal relatives must attend to the distribution of the /158/ livestock of the dead man, a part of which it is customary to give to the visitors who come to offer their condolences.

764 554 A wake can and should be prolonged as long as the livestock of the deceased lasts, and in the event that these are too few to maintain the prestige of the status of the dead man's consanguineous relatives, recourse must be had to contributions from the latter. From their point of view, the veritable economic-social status of the dead man is shown by the slaughter and distribution of animals which is made at this moment; also, this has its effect on his life beyond the grave, as the livestock slaughtered and the funeral outfit form the basis of the deceased's status in his other life.

In La Guajira the deaths of some of the most outstanding clan chiefs are long remembered. It is recounted, for example, that the wake of the cacique José Dolores lasted two and a half months until the animals he owned were completely slaughtered and distributed among those who came to show their sympathy. The whole /population of the/ peninsula was mobilized to accompany his kinsmen. They say that no less than 30,000 bolivars (Venezuelan money) were spent on eau de cologne to overcome the putrefaction and the bad odors given off by the corpse during such a long time in the hot climate.

/158 cont./

764 554 The distribution of animals and drink is made according to the standing of the visitor. Those of high class should be given cattle, mules, or horses (already mature), and rum or brandy in abundance; the poor, goats and sheep, and drink in lesser quantity and quality. In some cases a piece of meat is distributed among them so that they can eat during the funeral gathering.

It is customary to retain a reserve of animals for the second burial, which in a certain way is a repetition of the first.

When the personal property of the dead man is not sufficient to maintain adequately the status of the clan group, his consanguineous relatives, headed and directed by the family head, start a collection which is obligatory in nature to gather together livestock and drink in order to sustain the prestige of the collectivity and that of the dead man in particular. This collection is repeated for the second burial.

764 Once all the livestock of the deceased has been distributed,
the family orders the burial. If the death occurred outside the
lands of his consanguineous relatives where the clan cemetery
[492] is located, he is carried there, tied on a horse. All those
attending the wake accompany the corpse, on horseback or on
foot, drinking incessantly during the whole procession. The
grave has been opened previously by a very close and dear
relative of the dead man, usually /159/ a nephew, his sister's
son, who feels honored with this responsibility. If he should
[689] refuse to do it, it would imply the greatest offense to his group,
but we found no such case of refusal to comply with this
honorable duty. (The influence of the mission in Upper La
Guajira has caused the Indians there to place the body in a crude
coffin of wood of the pionillo, a leguminous tree which is very
abundant in the region. In Lower La Guajira the body is wrapped
in the fresh skin of one of the slaughtered animals, one or two
/sic/, which preserves it from putrefaction for a longer time.)

In front of the open grave the funeral procession halts while the children related to the deceased, and later the adults, walk over it, with the idea that this will delay /the return of/ death.

/159 cont./

764 The corpse is lowered into the grave with ropes, with the greatest care taken not to bang it or lower it roughly to the bottom of the grave. This would mean an offense to the dead man, who in some way would show his annoyance at this lack of care, which is in itself an insult; and the relatives would feel considerably offended at the want of respect shown to one who was of their blood and at a time so important to the Guajiro as that of burying a kinsman. It represents, to his way of thinking, an insult almost as great as to refuse to dig his grave, to speak ill of a dead relative, or to pronounce his name.

764 The same individual who digs the grave covers it with the
excavated earth, doing his work with extreme care. Then he
783 goes to his home where he is submitted for some time to a
purification ceremonial. The people who formed the procession return to their homes, after shooting off their firearms while the burial is in progress with the idea of frightening off all evil spirits. In times past they shot arrows repeatedly. Upon return the relatives also go through a purification ceremony, and generally, gathered together, they slaughter an animal for themselves from among those which had not been presented nor had belonged to the deceased.

764 For the dead man they place a supply of food and drink in
the grave (his favorite food), and if while alive he liked to
get drunk, they place an abundance of liquor. His most valued
514 personal utensils, especially his chamber pot, an indication
554 that the owner was of high status, are placed on his grave, as
are his cups and dishes, which also give prestige to the dead
man.

765 During a more or less lengthy period his closest relatives go frequently to visit his grave, taking with them food which they eat over it, after weeping there for a long time and asking the dead person to join them. On the eighth day after his death it is mandatory /160/ to make such a visit, later, at the end of each lunar month after the occurrence of the death. These visits are made with more frequency when the relatives believe

/160 cont./
766 that they have felt the spirit of the departed, which to them
is an indication that they have not complied fully with the
funeral ritual or that something was missing from the post-
mortem attire or that he lacks some material necessities be-
yong the grave. For this reason they take him food and drink.
Another practice is that any Guajiro -- man or woman -- who
passes by the cemetery must enter, above all if he knows
there has been a recent burial, and cry a little over the graves,
recalling his own troubles and those of his clan. In the period
immediately following the burial, the relatives of the dead
person light bonfires in his honor during the night in order to
illumine the road he must follow until he arrives at his future
home, and so that his spirit will not continue to wander, like
that of a murderer or a suicide, or become harmful. In
Santander del Sur this custom existed in the distant past but
nowadays the peasants limit themselves to placing a candle
inside the sleeve of the deceased's shroud, so that he may light
his path.

The Guajiro family remember their relative for a long
765 time. Every sunrise before starting their day's work, they
769 weep for him and the others of their clan group who have died
(Cf. Chap. II, Cult of the dead).

When some time has passed after the burial of their
relative (four or five months), two women return to his grave,
almost secretly, his mother and his most beloved aunt, or his
first wife. They reopen the grave until they find the body,
raise it halfway up the grave, putting earth inside and then
re-covering it. They say the object of this is to avoid the
skeleton's being dispersed at such a depth when the exhumation
783 takes place. These two women, after having carried out this
labor, go through a special purification. About two years after
death comes the time for exhumation, when all the relatives
come together. They send out runners to announce the
exhumation. All come to this ceremony in which the slaughter
and distribution of animals and of drink is repeated; it takes
place in the house of the deceased or in the cemetery itself,

/160 cont./
765 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the
house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthen-
769 ware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all
congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives
weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is
dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited.
At the present time it is customary for each small family of
means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone
remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are
accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the
very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached
to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which,
like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These indi-
viduals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his
body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a
cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region
is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he
brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the
others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his
affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then
he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the
bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his
work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined before-
hand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having
783 finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for
some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the
262 exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not
partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they re-
ceive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have
come together again for this purpose.

768 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in
some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the in-
fluence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where
the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

/161 cont./

768 or later on if it is impossible at that moment. Sometimes, if the person died tragically, the house is burned. The reason given for this custom is that the illness was produced by an evil spirit which from then onward takes up residence there, taking possession of the house and able to continue killing the rest of the occupants. At the present time this custom is generally reduced to abandoning the habitation that the dead man occupied. They believe that at night one can feel lamentations there and that the spirit of the dead person frequently returns to that place to show his unrest if his relatives have forgotten him in the special cult of the dead. The tragic character of the case is accentuated when the person died violently in that place, in which case the house is definitely abandoned, because the frequent repetition of the scene during the night would make it impossible to live there. When the death occurred as the result of /162/ illness, and the house is [787] not abandoned, if another member of the family should die in it of the same sickness, then it is absolutely necessary that they leave it, as to them it is a clear indication that the spirits of that sickness also reside in the house and sooner or later will kill off all its occupants. /163/

X

THE SMALL FAMILY

592 836 Nowadays the Guajiro man and woman have their first sexual experiences very early, more or less toward the age of ten, but formal marriage is later for the men than the women. Premarital sex relations are casual events. The man may continue them sometimes to a more advanced age, but these also are occasional and their consequences -- pregnancy -- may

/163 cont./
592 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days
836 prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that
582 varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the
[591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at
592 the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives,
611 and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by
602 her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.
2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

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/164 cont./

592 602 611 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their descendants.

4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 593 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 178 596 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

/164 cont./

593 culture to the maternal uncle. Another phenomenon /165/ that
178 develops in this type of marriage is the appearance of paternal
596 relatives who are gradually acquiring places in kinship to the point that they almost hold positions similar to those held in our society. In fact, the children of a marriage so constituted begin to consider their father within the boundaries of their relatives; initially, he was not so considered, but by degrees, he is acquiring this manifest recognition in the act of their taking sides with him, being represented by him on outstanding occasions such as marriage, receiving help and assistance from him, and later on being his legitimate heirs.

In the classical Guajiro home the outstanding authority is that of the maternal uncle, who surpasses the eldest person in order of importance. There can, however, be an exception when another of these relatives has acquired a position that is not only more prominent than any of his brothers but also extends its radius of action to all the clan group and even passes on to other clans. Individual personal merit or wealth may be the cause of the elevation of his status, which is fully recognized within the family to the point that he may supplant the brother who by chronological order he ought to obey. According to the
[561] old order, age was the index of the exercise of authority, an arrangement that defined succession in case of death.

596 It also may occur that in any one of the different homes formed by each one of the sisters of a family, preferential deference and recognition is given to one of the sisters without taking into account the hierarchy established by age, status, etc.

This preference is due to the affinity shown by the mother for one of her brothers, a preference that has a reciprocal effect extending to the sons of the sister from whom he will receive greater respect. Beside respect the influence goes deeper and the effective assistance of this brother is greater than that rendered by the others. This is shown especially by his gifts at the birth of the children of the sister and above all by his taking charge personally of educating them in pasturing and in masculine

/165 cont./

596 activities in general. After the uncle, the function of authority falls to the mother. They, uncle and mother, on occasion make decisions together after prior consultation and agreement, but if there should be a difference of opinion the uncle's decision prevails. After these comes the authority of the children, which also runs in chronological order and by sex. First is the authority of the eldest son, since in case there are several daughters /born/ before a son, the authority will be exercised by the latter no matter what his position in the family is in order /166/ of arrival into the world.

The female descendants in the mother's line also have much authority, and their opinions are listened to and given attention, and the mother's sisters, after the maternal uncle, are the most respected and exercise considerable influence over the nieces, especially at the time of their initiation and during the arrangement of their purchase as brides. The mother's aunts and her female cousins, generally called aunts, may be listened to, especially when some one of them holds a preferential position within the family or within the culture.

592 In the home the authority for the general organization of the administrative life rests in the wife. She should impose her will and be responsible for the decisions she makes. She exercises control over her children, nephews and nieces, servants, slaves, and hired help /criados/, organizing their work and being responsible for their conduct: This authority is more extensive when the economic and social position of the woman is higher, as those of the upper class have around them a larger staff and an endless number of relatives other than their own children, nephews and nieces, over all of whom they must impose their authority. Also, in the case of the first wife, who is the principal administrator of her husband's property and the builder of his real home, this authority grows even greater. However, the power of the woman cannot extend to the homes of her married daughters or to the homes of her other female relatives. She may give voice to her opinion on some matter,

/166 cont./

592 but the decisions made must be made by the woman head of the house. Every married woman exercises independently her authority in her home without intereference from the female relatives of her group except when she asks for assistance in an attack from her husband. On the other hand, there is the authority of the man, who is in control of the staff and his nephews and other relatives. He is responsible for the execution of all male work, as much for his own personal duties as for the work force he has at his disposal for such a purpose. When he is absent his authority and responsibility are taken over by his eldest maternal nephew.

In case the father lives at home, that is, in the house of his first wife, it is he who makes arrangements, gives orders, carries out the organization of administrative life, the daily pasturing chores, and the periodic and occasional agricultural work done by /members of/ his sex. In his absence he may be replaced by his sons, in chronological order. As at the present time male emigration is so widespread and as in general the father is periodically absent on pasturing activities or on his visits to his other women (polygamy), the woman who has no responsible son may on her own account order work to be done, even if such work comes /167/ under the husband's jurisdiction. Once the boys are grown they begin to supplant the maternal uncle or the father in masculine work. Also, as they grow older and become adults, family authority gradually loses its power over them. The boy begins to make

672 his will felt and to take the initiative, but he must be responsible for his actions, because Guajiro law establishes culpability extensible to the consanguineous relatives when any social or cultural rule has been violated. The boy, then, becomes gradually independent from direct family tutelage and is able to plan his life in accordance with the cultural norms of the society and within these to develop his own personality. He does not attain absolute independence. He breaks away from the family discipline represented in the person of his mother,

/167 cont./

592 his maternal uncle, and his most immediate relatives in the family circle, but he is required to obey those legal forms which offer him the protection and mutual aid of the same relatives from whom he is becoming emancipated. This freedom is limited for the male to economic independence and his first marriage. For the woman, relative emancipation from the family comes with marriage; even after being initiated she must submit, perhaps more than before, to the prescriptions and orders of her relatives; but on being married she becomes somewhat free from direct family control, although she also has to respect new cultural patterns and a new authority: that of her husband.

Once the daughters are married the mother, although she may try to exercise dominion over the running of the homes that these are establishing, must in any case make her voice heard; her influence is felt through the conduct of the daughters. If the new couple goes to live with the mother, according to
184 the traditional form of matrilocal residence, or if the newly married sons take their brides to their maternal home, a common occurrence among mestizos, the mother does not hand over the reins of family administration, either to her daughters or to her daughters-in-law. When she dies and each one of these forms her own home, each will take on the direction of the family administration and will follow the same norms. With respect to the matter of marital authority, we abstain from repeating the observations already made and refer the reader to the chapter, Marriage.

The authority that Guajiro fathers have over their children depends on their position before them. They are not considered consanguineous relatives, and consequently their authority is very limited. The children may not take their fathers' side for this reason, but they must respect them as older persons. The father is limited in his rights by the maternal uncle who takes his place and by the mother. He may not hurt his children because he has no rights over them, since they are not of his blood. Nevertheless, in a certain way he

/167 cont./

592 has some authority over them because, if during his absence some carelessness on /168/ the part of the mother causes the death of one of them, he can collect a compensation payment from his wife's maternal relatives. But at the present time, among mestizos and especially among those who contract Catholic marriages, the father's authority is immediately felt in accordance with the custom of our culture. He represents the home and the children before the other individuals of the social totality as was previously done by the uncle.

This authority has reference not only to the home and to the compliance with certain norms of courtesy, such as those of hospitality for example, but also to the decisive events in family life, such as the marriage of a son, the compensation payment for an offense, the purchase of a daughter, etc. His will is consulted, and the wife obeys it, even against the personal insistence of her mother; in other words, the mother loses authority and responsibility with regard to her children, who now use the father's name and with this the new ascribed kin relationship. /169/

XI

THE CLAN

614 On studying clan organization we wish to present it as it apparently must have functioned in the past and to show the changes it has undergone up to the present. To this end, we make use of mythology to clarify happenings in the remote past.

614 773 531 A story from Upper La Guajira runs as follows: "Not far from Nazaret there is a hill lying behind Itojoro. There Mareiwa was born under an olive tree. There he was found as a tiny infant, and he kept growing and growing as rapidly as

539 /169 cont./
614 an Indian. He ate *tuuma* and wore a Guajiro robe. His mother
773 was an old woman. There she had her home. The father was
one Saramai who, it is also said, was a god. As Mareiwa was
born under an olive tree, the tree never loses its green leaves
during any summer. And when there is a storm the Indians
821 take shelter beneath its branches because lightning cannot
824 penetrate there.

"Mareiwa ordered that there should be an Indian girl whom they called Borunka who was the mother of all the Guajiro Indians. Mareiwa gave her a husband by whom she became pregnant, but when the time of her delivery arrived she was not able to give birth. She had already suffered three days of labor pains without birth taking place. The cause was that her genital organ had teeth. Mareiwa extracted them, and later he took from the husband two ribs, the lower ones from each side of his body, to place in Borunka so that she could give birth to children without difficulty, though not without pain.

"Since there is always some loss of blood when there is a childbirth, Mareiwa called together all the little birds: the one called Sangre de Toro /Bull's Blood/ or *pincwait* he ordered to go and bathe at the spot where the birth had taken place. Also /he called/ the troupial, the *icó* with black wings and a red breast and crest, and the macaws. The woodpecker arrived late at the bath. Mareiwa said to him: 'You came late but I will anoint your crest,' and he painted it. For this reason, all these birds have red patches.

"Borunka had several children, and thus the Guajiro went on multiplying. When they became numerous, Mareiwa returned and distributed among them seeds of watermelon, corn, and melon, all of which the Guajiro eat to this day. Until this /170/ time the Guajiro had not sown seed, but had collected only the wild fruits of the forest. Mareiwa brought together all the troupials and woodcocks /*zancalargas*/. A flock of these he sent far away, very far away, and there they

/170 cont./
539 ate prickly pear and iguarayas. He also called a flock of
614 pigeons of the woods that brought cherries from Hepechi. Then
773 Mareiwa dispersed these little birds all over La Guajira, who with their excrements showered seeds, which germinated in the earth, covering it with plants which bore fruit and served as food for the Indians.

"To each male Indian Mareiwa gave a pair of animals: goats, burros, cows, horses, and pigs. Then he brought them all together with their animals at a place called Arachi, near Siapana, (to the S. W. of Nazaret), and on a stone he engraved the marks he gave to each group of Indians, sons of Borunka. And even today the marks on that stone can be seen.

"There he formed the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Síjuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, etc. Mareiwa gave them these marks so that the livestock of one would not be confused with those of another.

"Each group has an animal which distinguishes it from the others: These animals (the present-day totems) according to the creation myth were to have become Indians, but they ate the livestock that Mareiwa had distributed to each group and he, then, to punish them left them in their primitive condition as a symbol of the group they had offended. Thus, the royal turkey buzzard for example ate a cow /res/ belonging to the Epiayú so for this reason it became the symbol of that group. The caricari ate an Ipuana animal and so remained with them. The Uriana have the jaguer /as totem/ because it did the same. The Sapuana group have the bittern; the Jayariyú, the dog; the Apshana, the buzzard; the Sijuana, the wasp; the Urariyú, the rattlesnake; the Jitnú, the fox; the Soriyú have the cataneja; the Pausayú, the bee; the Uyarayú, the stag /Venado Cauquero/, etc."

Another story relates: "... as there was nothing on the Earth, Mareiwa said: 'What shall I do so that there may be something and so that I may then return to Heaven?'

/170 cont./

539 "He then said to the birds, who were Indians at that time,
614 'Make your homes and your enramadas /bough-covered shelters/
773 as I am going to Heaven and I will return.' He went away then, and a few days later he was back again from Heaven. Heaven was then like the Earth today with similar trees and fruits. The birds, who were Indians, did not carry out the order of Mareiwa as they neither built houses nor enramadas. When he returned, Mareiwa found out that what they had built were nests in the trees. /171/ Mareiwa told them angrily: 'Turn into birds and be Indians no longer since you did not obey, and from this originated the different kinds of birds.

"After cursing the birds, Mareiwa took up a quantity of clay and began to make dolls like those that are made now at Jarara and various other kind. He sent for the cucarachero /in Colombia and Venezuela, a songbird which eats cockroaches. -- Ed./ to sing to the dolls while he was making them. The bird did so and in its song mentioned the color and kind of clay of which they were made. He later called for the woodpecker and said to him: 'Go and look for my grandfather,' and when he had come he ordered the bird: 'Name the clan of each one of these dolls.' He said: 'This is Apshana; this Epiayú: this Uriana, etc., etc., etc.' In payment for having named the clans so well, Mareiwa gave him a white necklace which he still wears. Finally, the bird said: 'The Ipuanas and Sapuanas will be allies in matters of putchi (war); the Epiayú with the Apshana.' 'Very good,' said Mareiwa.

"All the groups having been named, the clay dolls were converted into real men and women. Mareiwa then distributed the women and sites so that there should be no fighting afterward. Thus he said: 'You will live with your wife there; you here, etc.' Nowadays the men look for and take more women, but in those days Mareiwa gave each only one. These are latter-day customs. He put the Ipúana in Jarara, the Epinayú in Lower La Guajira, the Urariyú in the region of Nazaret, the Epiayú in the region of Puerto Estrella, and so on with all the rest who were distributed

/171 cont./
539 throughout La Guajira. Mareiwa spoke with them for the last
614 time to bid them farewell. Thus he spoke to them: 'That is
773 what I wanted, that you should live here. I am going away now, but will continue to watch over you from Heaven.'"

* * *

614 To better understand their mythology, it is essential to know the organization of La Guajira. Let us see this in brief.

The whole peninsula is divided among diverse groups having special characteristics, which have received in popular language the name of castas /"race," "breed"/. These castas are really clan groups whose most outstanding traits are the following:

1. Each one, as we were able to see in the preceding stories, has a totemic animal which serves to group together all the individuals belonging to the same clan. With respect to the totem animals we find the following:

Clan	Representative animal
Epiayú	Royal turkey buzzard /172/
Ipuana	Caricari
Uriana	Jaguar

Alfred Jhan[a](1) adds for this same clan group the following totemic animals:

Uriana	Jaguar (Zone of Taroa and Bahía Honda)
"	Rabbit (Cruce coast of Maracaibo) /Las Cruces.--Ed./

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1. Alfred Jhan:[a] Los aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela /The Natives of Western Venezuela/, p. 144.

[a] [sic, should read Jahn. -Analyst]

/172 cont./

Uriana	*Pauralata* (in all parts)
"	*Jokóriú* /Spanish, *tuqueque*/(in all the plains)

Professor G. Hernández de Alba (2) points out for the same clan group other representative animals:

Uriana	Jaguar (*Canahapur*)
"	Lion (*Guasach*)
"	Cat (*Mussa*)

In spite of the diversity of the representative animals ascribed to the same clan group, all agree in pointing out first of all the jaguar for the zone where it predominates; moreover, it is the best known in the entire peninsula.

Sapuana	Bittern. For the same group Jhan, in the work and pages cited, gives "hen."
Jayariyú	Dog
Apshana	Buzzard
Síjuana	Wasp
Urariyú	Rattlesnake
Jitnú	Fox
Soriyú	*Cataneja*
Pausayú	Bee
Usarayú	Stag /*Venado Cauquero*/
Epinayú	Burro /*173*/
Jusayú	*Mapuro* /a kind of oppossum/
Uriyú	Partridge
Sapuana	*Machorro* /edible lizard/
Pushaina	Wild hog

For some very /numerically/ reduced groups such as the Urenanaka, Woruboruyú, and Mapishana, we have not found a

2. G. Hernández de Alba: *Etnologiá Guajira* /Guajira Ethnology/, p. 46.

/173 cont./

614 representative animal. It is not that they do not have one, but that in some regions there are no members of their group /present/, and the other people do not know them /that is, the totems/.

At the present time the association of a clan group with a particular totem animal does not imply that its members need offer sacrifices or keep taboos. The belief that they descend from it no longer prevails nor does the special prohibition that no harm is to be done to it or that it should not be killed. The idea that the genesis /of the group/ is to be found in the totem animal does not appear to have been present even in their remote past. The origins that we found in the native narratives do not include this idea. Nowadays, they laugh when one questions them about the animal of their casta; many confess proudly that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, or to the rattlesnake.... They say they are brave, just like those animals, and that they always cause harm to whoever bothers them. Sometimes they will give an example of how the jaguar devours the other animals, and they believe it is the bravest of them all. It thus acquires the sense of a symbol that prompts them to be aggressive. However, there are others who feel troubled if they have to confess /the name of/ their totem animal as is the case of the clan group represented by the burro. The children refuse to do so and if they do name it say their animal is very ugly, that they do not like it, etc.

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787 Where we found a strong manifestation of the survival of the identification of the individual or the group with its totem animal is in the interpretation of dreams. In some cases, if a person dreams of one of these symbolic animals, it means that he is going to have something disagreeable happen to him at the hands of some members of the corresponding clan, that he will be visited by them, that a marriage alliance is forthcoming, that some relative of whom he has dreamed is going to upset social stability by wounding one of the clan symbolized by the

/173 cont./

614 787 animal, or the reverse, etc., according to the nature and the particular details of the dream.

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614 422 304 2. We find the origin of clan marks also commemorated in the preceding narratives. Every group of individuals with the same name living in the same place had the problem of /174/ distinguishing their animals from those near by or at a distance. Mareiwa did not want this situation to give rise to problems. Along with each group of animals, he gave the corresponding name and representative animal and the property mark, which he engraved on a stone. At the present time they still recognize the generic mark of each casta used to brand the animals and /mark/ the individuals belonging to it. Nevertheless, a variation of this original idea is to be found. Clan marks are degenerating into family marks, and in a process even further advanced we find individual marks, constituted sometimes by a special sign or by the owner's initials branded by a hot iron on some visible part of the body of the animal, or a special cut or nick in the ears of sheep or goats. Tattooing the clan mark on individuals is becoming more and more rare; it is more common in the lower than in the higher classes, and among the less acculturated than among those brought into contact with whites. Regional and family variations are found in the same clan. The clan mark persists in some localities but as an adornment, a "luxury," as they say when questioned. To this end they replace the totem by a schematic figure of the animal; and among the mestizos, by the initial of the name. The parts of the body where these marks are generally located are the upper part of the thigh on men, and the upper surface of the forearm on women.

614 422 Sometimes they still place the totem mark of the clan on objects of domestic use, (gourds, pottery, bags). But this practice is not very common. At the present time, articles of

/174 cont./

614 922 personal property are marked with letters, especially such items as clay and gourd vessels and parts of the harness of riding animals and their hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/.

614 551 3. Naming. According to mythology, every clan had its personal name given to it by Mareiwa directly or was inspired by him. It covers all the individuals belonging to the same clan and is the indication of blood relationship. Clan disintegration at the present time has made it necessary to add to this generic name the name of the locality and the name of the most outstanding family head (cacique).

At the present time a Guajiro individual feels that in spite of being linked to another by an identical name he is not a relative /of that person/, and he makes a distinction within the same clan of diverse groups with more or less prestige. However, at a time when attacked by another group, they may make /175/ common cause if their co-operation is needed. Furthermore, the introduction of the Catholic marriage has given equal value to naming by using the paternal surname followed by the maternal surname, although in a stage of transition the second of these has greater value.

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614 602 4. Consanguinity. Consanguinity plays an important role in the Guajiro concept of kinship, which embraces all individuals joined in a chain through common female ascendants, that is, uterine kinship. In this way they set aside the paternal branch, which may be found in opposition and enmity, because in the Guajiro mentality the father-son biological bond, although it exists, does not count in determining kinship. The common tie that embraces all the individuals of a clan is the mother's blood in the biological act and in the process of gestation. From this premise the Guajiro derives the importance of the spilling of blood through themselves or outsiders, because it represents the destruction of the kinship tie and of the vital element. This valuation is the outstanding concept in the regimen for social stability in the culture.

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614 602 Furthermore, consanguinity regulates some fundamental aspects of clan organization, such as inheritance -- of wealth and of name; group identification; the place to locate the home, the cemetery, and marriage.

Within the group of consanguineous relatives, the influence of the maternal uncle is the one most felt, since the father lacks such authority. The uncle holds in his hands the rights and obligations which in other cultures, like our own, are assigned to the father. Another concept included in consanguinity is that of considering as sons and daughters all the members of the generation immediately following one's generation, and as siblings all the members of one's own generation within the clan group. The nexus of consanguinity within the clan is kept alive in its obligations and rights by the economic and social backing given to all its members. Between the dead and the living, for example, the tie is preserved through the special ceremonial made in tribute to the former (Cf. Cult of the dead, Chap. II) to keep alive the emotional bond between past and present generations.

Relations with other clan groups are controlled through compliance with the regimen for stability and by punitive measures that control aggression. Should aggressive acts occur, the aggressor and the injured party can strengthen their /respective/ positions by /176/ alliances with other groups, thus forming a bloc with sufficient power or coercive strength to bring about a favorable legal settlement.

178 602 614 At the present time all these bonds are becoming weakened by the change in the direction of kinship. The old total group concept has changed, in consequence of various influences, into another which is almost totally opposite. In the first place, the clans show subdivisions which affect their original unity and which have come about by members of the same clan settling in different parts of the peninsula, who, after a long period of growth and assisted by the springing up of their own caciques and for want of contact with the original cell, have become veritable independent groups with a sense of unity, although they all preserve the same totem and a common name and clan marks.

/176 cont./

178 602 614 In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exercise of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kinship between all its members has relaxed to the point that consanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship to include relatives of the fourth degree of collaterality, and then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limiting the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan unity begins to disintegrate.

178 797 602 614 Another change in the concept of kinship has been introduced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a superior plane since the father's name and not the mother's, as it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that of the father replaces and surpasses it.

178 614 582 5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous. Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

614 423 178 6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are held in common by each clan, which also works them communally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads, wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the clan members who will make use of them. At the present time individual solution of the water problem has permitted the splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore, there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

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614 7. Work. Labor is obligatory and communal for carrying
461 out work necessary for the general well-being of the group.
In the case of labor on property held by a single individual,
476 aid is voluntarily lent by all the others, including men who
may not belong to the same clan. The aid is reciprocated by
the return of identical service when it may be requested.

614 8. Location of the dwelling. We have already spoken
about the location of the home of the new family cell (Cf.
Marriage residence in the chapter on Marriage).

614 9. The clan cemetery. Every clan group has a cemetery
on its own land, built by the co-operative work of its members.
764 In it all the members of the clan should be buried; if it is not
possible to do so at the time of the first burial, it is mandatory
that the ashes /sic/ at least be taken there. With the individualization of property, the small families have constructed private niches situated in sites near the family house to be used as the temporary resting place of the remains of their closest relatives.

10. Group feeling. The consanguineous tie between all
614 the members of the same clan group had brought about a
571 natural feeling of group unity. This feeling included a series
of mutual duties and a number of rights they all could enjoy. The principal and most outstanding of the first was that of presenting a solid front in the face of any breaking down of the regimen for social stability when they felt injured by an offense or when one of the members had broken some cultural pattern, an act for which the whole clan had to bear responsibility. To get satisfaction and to give it as a total collectivity was their essential duty, as it was also to keep in force their prestige and status through adequate compliance of each of those functions which put the clan to the test.

The disintegration of the clan unit into more or less large family cells broken down the group feeling and transfered it to the family as an independent unit. /page 178 is blank/

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XII

LAW

683 *Delicts of aggression.* The regimen for social stability is breached, according to the Guajiro Indian's tradition, when aggressive acts are committed in one way or another against the security of individuals.

Let us see some of these infractions which are considered punishable acts that cause the culprit to be sanctioned, in each case in the form of a material indemnity of variable amount, paid to the offended party.

The Guajiro thinks that life rests in the blood, since it is the vital element of most importance (See *Ideas about fecundation* in Chap. V). To spill blood in any way implies taking some part of his life away from its owner, and in addition, as blood is not the property of the individual only but of all the consanguineous relatives since it is the tie of solidarity through the uterine line, it is necessary for this reason to indemnify these relatives for the injury done to one of their members. Translated into its legal aspect, this means that the breaking of the regimen for stability through an offense or by a delict involves not only the individual but all his consanguineous relatives. But not only are the cases that involve the spilling of blood considered as punishable acts, the Guajiro also classify as delicts against the regimen for social stability all those that in some manner constitute in themselves an open aggression against the person of an individual and that therefore extend to his relatives.

Injuries. Various causes lead to this aggressive act /*sic*/. The majority of these stem from an old quarrel between two family groups that has not been effectively solved by a payment that should clearly have settled it, so that the members of the two sides are always openly antagonistic, and this feeling,

/179 cont./

683 kept below the surface for various reasons, suddenly shows itself at a given moment. That is to say, the cause is in short a family vendetta which may break out at any instant. Another of the causes can be an enmity originating in an illegal act committed by one group against another, such as the stealing of animals, /180/ the abduction of a woman without the corresponding payment, or suspicions or evidence of adultery. In addition one must consider those aggressive acts which occur on the spur of the moment, that is, aggression provoked in the majority of cases by alcoholic abuse.

683 672 One must also consider many aspects itself of spilling blood which extend responsibility for this aggressive act to one or various persons who did not participate in it directly, but in a passive form. Thus we have the situation that the person guilty of a punishable action of this class is not only he who does it willfully, but also the individual who does it involuntarily, as illustrated in the following example. Two very intimate friends went out one day to hunt. They belonged to different family groups. They had hunted all afternoon and were returning to their homes when a chance of a shot presented itself. When the man carrying the gun tried to shoot, the gun went off unexpectedly and wounded his friend. The culprit, with his relatives, suffered all the consequences connected with breaking the law. No attenuating circumstances of any kind were considered -- neither the friendship nor the involuntary character of the act.

683 The owner of a firearm which causes injury or death brings punishment upon himself and upon his relatives. For this reason, the man who lends a weapon must suffer the consequences of its wrong use, whether voluntary or involuntary.

Injuries to oneself. Anyone who wounds himself must pay his relatives for having shed blood, their common bond to which he has no right.

When some person with an object owned by him injures another person. From among others we cite one case as an example. A rich Indian living in Nazaret got drunk one day.

/180 cont./

683 Already very intoxicated, he started off for home at nightfall, riding on a very frisky burro. For some reason the animal got frightened on the road, near a fence of sticks which protected a corn field belonging to a family different from his own. Because of the jumping of his mount and his own condition, the Indian fell off and scratched his face on the fence, and received in addition several wounds caused by the out-of-control animal. The injured Guajiro charged the owners of the fence with the responsibility of his having shed blood and to indemnify him for this involuntary spilling of his blood, the owners of the sown field were punished by the destruction of their fence, which meant that they lost their harvest. The owners, of a group inferior to that of the injured man, had to resign themselves to this punishment /181/ for fear of worse sanctions, without being able to appeal at all to their favor lack of guilt, since the fence, as their property which it was, had caused the loss of blood. They could be thankful, furthermore, that they were not forced to pay a much higher compensation payment which the injured Indian initially wanted to claim.

Also grouped together under this heading are injuries caused by an animal, whose responsibility is transferred to its owner, who must pay the indemnity due. We have the following case of this. A dog belonging to the convent at Nazaret bit a calf that was in the convent's sown field. After a time the calf died. The wounds received were then taken as the cause of death and payment was demanded for the animal on both counts /of injury and death/.

622 When one Guajiro lends another any animal, he makes himself responsible, as in the case of firearms, for anything that may happen as a consequence of the loan. Thus, for example, if the loan of a beast of burden or a pack animal leads to the borrower's getting hurt, the owner of the animal must pay the damages incurred, because they say that if he had not lent the horse the incident would not have occurred, hence he is the cause of it.

/181 cont./

683 A man who employs another runs the risk that something may happen to him while he is in his service or carrying out one of his orders.

A little girl in the orphanage burnt her leg in the kitchen when carrying out a task she had been told to do while learning to cook. Her mother, when she heard of the incident, came to the convent in spite of the fact that the burn was insignificant and formally demanded compensation payment from the Reverend Sisters, the persons responsible for what had happened to her daughter as she was under their orders.

A rich mestizo woman one night requested the services of a Guajiro girl who lived in the neighborhood to help her prepare a meal quickly for her husband and some of his friends who had arrived unexpectedly. While this girl was dressing a hen she cut her finger. The wound bled a little but was of no importance. Nevertheless, very early the following day her mother appeared and demanded compensation payment from the mestizo for the blood shed by her daughter. As the girl was of low status, the mestizo only had to pay four goats, five pigs, 15 hens, 25 skeins of thread for hammocks, five bars of soap worth $1.50 /sic/ each, and several mirrors and kerchiefs. /182/

Contagion. The passing on of a disease, when it does not cause death, can be considered an aggressive act liable to a payment in accordance with the consequences of the contagion.

Any accident, even if caused directly by an enemy of the family or a personal one, which occurs to a person sent by another in compliance with the latter's orders, makes the responsibility and the fault lie equally with the direct causer of the accident and the man under whose orders the injured man acted, since the victim's relatives allege that if he had not been sent under orders to such a place, the act would not have occurred.

Involuntary responsibility implies payment in cases such as the following: A girl was going with a burro to a near-by well for water. Passing the house of a friend, she invited her to

/182 cont./

683 accompany her. Both got on the burro, which was loaded with the pitchers. The animal reared, and the second girl fell on a cactus, whose needles caused her to bleed. The injured girl's mother demanded compensation payment from the other, and thus made the mother of the first girl go from house to house among her friends and relatives to collect animals and objects with which to pay for her daughter's wrongdoing. If the girl had not invited her friend and if she had not mounted her on an animal which was her property, the accident would not have occurred was the reason presented by the mother of the injured girl when pressing for payment.

A person is also considered to culpable if through giving advice, he causes a particular course of action during the execution of which something happens which brings harmful consequences to the person who took his advice or to his family. We heard for example of the case of an Indian who had advised a friend not to use the customary road to get to a certain place but to take another which he judged to be shorter; his friend took his advice and suffered a fall from his horse, and consequently the Indian had to pay an indemnity, since his advice became an aggressive act against the other, which although involuntary required an indemnity.

It is not considered an attenuating circumstance of guilt when an injury results from an act done in the case of injury or defense. A native of Upper La Guajira very frequently bothered a mestizo because the latter would not get drunk with him, insisting that his refusal was due to his considering the native's group to be inferior to his and that he wanted to humiliate him with this. The mestizo showed himself unwilling to please him until one day they happened to get drunk together in the mestizo's house. The Indian revived his ill-humor and said insulting things about the mestizo's maternal family. The latter, on one hand, should have asserted himself before the onlookers, but on the other hand, the law /183/ did not give him the right, in s pite of the offense, to hit one who insulted his family in his own house and in front of onlookers.

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683 Furthermore, the laws of hospitality held him back. But there came a moment when he could stand no more, and he hit his tormentor, making his nose bleed profusely. The claim for compensation payment was immediate: He had to pay 45 goats, ten mules, two demijohns of rum, two gold necklaces, 25 skeins of cotton thread, ten hens, four machetes, large kerchiefs, and 80 pesos to a white doctor for his medical services. All this he paid in less time than that agreed upon, with the intent of humiliating his enemy and making a public demonstration of his consanguineous relatives' prestige as rich people.

That the aggressive act is done in legitimate self-defense does not excuse the man who does the injury from culpability. Above all, the claim for compensation payment is promptly presented and the amount is considerable, if the wounded man is the richer.

We must also note the following case: If someone is hurt in the house of some Guajiro the culpability extends to the family head of the home, who in this way is involved in the payment, since it is said that if the man had not been there, the deed would not have happened. The culpability is even more certain if it is established that the owner of the house invited the injured person.

In the general case of injuries we must consider those which are mutually caused by children of different family groups either during their childish activities or those which can be included among the causes just seen. A single exception is made, however, where the two disputants are both slightly hurt, and more or less equally so, while they are playing. But in spite of this, if one of the mothers demands compensation payment from the other, the latter will have to pay. For this reason the mothers try, with the means they have at their disposal, to prevent their children being in the company of children of another family group.

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683 672 The responsibility for the delict in La Guajira is borne not only by he who gave the order but also by he who carries it out. Both are involved to an equal degree in the aggressive act. Furthermore, all the people accompanying an individual at the time this person breaks the legal system for stability and injures a /184/ family group are involved in his culpability. They tell of the case of a well-known putchi (1) between Jayariyúes and Pushainas, in which all the people accompanying the aggressor had to contribute to the payment because they found themselves involved by the very act of being present in a common complicity.

They consider as a transgressor, and therefore culpable, any individual who indirectly aids the aggressor in accomplishing his delict. It is not considered extenuating that the help was given without previous knowledge that the act was going to occur. We have already seen the case in which the culpability extended to the owners of a firearm, for example, or to those who were along. We must also classify in this totality people who collaborate in transporting the offender in a vehicle or on an animal to the site of the crime, even if they lack knowledge of the reason for such transport. That the crime took place is sufficient for them to be included as culpable.

When a Guajiro spreads slander, if it can be proved to be false, he is obliged to pay for the offense and for the damage he inflicted on the slandered person. This type of case is common among men in respect to the chastity of their women and is used as vengenace against the woman who has refused their amorous attentions or their desire for marriage. The payment demanded as indemnity covers the moral injuries caused, the material consequences, and the pain occasioned to the injured person and to her consanguineous relatives.

1. War between two clan groups.

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683 The native adds a great deal of his own phantasy to the truth of the facts. For this reason his testimony is sometimes false. He sometimes lies deliberately to obtain the personal advantage of demanding a payment for himself or for someone who has bribed him. If the lie is proved, or if the instigator of the idea is known, the responsibility for the punishable act embraces both, who are jointly punished.

We have already seen a case in which a disinterested and sincere piece of advice led to a man's being saddled with culpability by the one to whom he gave it, since he was regarded as an indirect participant in an aggressive action against the person who took his advice. Ill-intentioned advice is also considered as a transgressive act, which if it is followed by bad results to the person who takes it and if the bad intentions are proved, the counselor is considered guilty because he has caused a break in the regimen for social security. Furthermore, if the crooked intentions of the advice are proved beforehand, the culpability is clearer and demands an economic indemnity.

The following are also considered to be aggressive acts: /185/

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689 a) Pronouncing the personal name of an individual. This name, according to Guajiro custom, may only be pronounced without giving offense by the closest maternal relatives. To pronounce it or to make it known to other people is to inflict an insult on the individual and involves punishment. This is probably due to the identification of an individual with his personal name. To betray the name is to betray the individual.

b) The worst offense that a Guajiro can receive from an outsider is for the latter, consciously or unconsciously, to pronounce in front of him or in front of his relatives or friends -- who would tell him about it -- the name of a dead maternal relative. The offense is as great as the relative is close. This aggressive act includes not only pronouncing the name of the dead relative when referring to him, but also addressing someone with the same name. From this stems the established custom of changing the names of all the namesakes of a person when he dies.

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683 689 The reason which justifies compensation payment in Guajira mentality is that saying the word which designates a dead relative immediately brings back a vision of that person with the remembrance of his death, and recalls the anguish and pain of that moment. The pain of his absence is renewed, and they are reminded of how much they miss him in the group which may have suffered socially and economically due to the lack of effective backing which the dead man used to provide. All this revival of memories and the consequent affective valuation of the deceased gives great pain to his relatives, for which they must be indemnified.

The offense is graver when the individual for some reason mentions the dead person in a contemptuous way. This may cause the offended relative to kill the offender, as a natural reaction to an aggressive act, even though such an offense is not considered extenuating in this type of homicide.

The act of stepping on a Guajiro's grave is considered an aggressive act against the regimen for social security. If someone sees this happen he informs the relatives, who immediately demand an indemnity of considerable size from the relatives of the offender. This payment has to be made very quickly, since it is an assault on the cult of the dead and can give rise to an armed struggle between clans.

683 Another aggressive act which can give rise to compensation payment is contemptuous allusion to a physical defect which an individual may have or the mention of his nickname, if this refers to a bodily deformity, such as the case of a person who is one-eyed, squint-eyed, /186/ lacks an arm, or has very noticeable scars on his face or on some visible part of his body.

An offense on the same scale as the above is to mention ironically or contemptuously or in a pejorative manner the maternal relatives of someone, especially their ascendants in the female line, or their uncles, criticising their physical defects or their acts.

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683 An insult is taken as an offense that has legal sanction. We note the case of two co-wives who did not get on well. One day they met unexpectedly on the road. One insulted the other with obscenities (in Spanish) and spat on the ground when she passed. This led to her being considered the author of an aggressive act and having to pay an indemnity for the moral offense caused.

When obscenities refer to a woman's honor they are specially injurious, the more so when they refer to her genital organs or to the sex act.

To show open suspicion of another person is also an offensive action which is punished. The story is told how in the Nazaret orphanage some clothes which had been left all night in one of the interior patios to dry were stolen. The Father Superior, looking for the thief, walked around the vicinity visiting the huts and obtaining information. He wanted to find out indirectly who was the thief, and in each house he got new data. In one of these huts, the owners were away and only the servants were there, for which reason he did not enter but only looked in from the outside in a guarded way. This action was noticed, however, by a bond servant, who told his master, a laborer who worked at the orphanage. Time passed and the Father needed someone to accompany him on a trip and when he asked the Indian, the latter openly refused to go with him. Asked why, he said that he was terribly resentful because the suspicion expressed in the Father's act of curiosity had pained him profoundly. If he was not paid for the pain thus caused, he would not go with him. The Father had to indemnify him.

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522 Another act considered offensive in the Guajiro mentality is to ridicule someone. The Indian has a jocular nature, but to make someone openly the butt of his jests may cause such a feeling of offense that the man whose feelings have been wounded demands payment. It is not unusual that they joke among themselves, especially under the effects of alcohol, but it is also not unusual for their feelings to be hurt very easily, and a simple joke may cause offense, even between very close friends. To erase the effect of the hurt and /187/ sorrow (as the Guajiro says) caused by

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683 being put in a ridiculous position, the individual demands a pay-
[522] ment that compensates him for what was said.

It is also considered offensive and therefore contrary to the regimen for personal safety if one man hits another without wounding him. There are two aspects to be considered in this act as aggravations: the physical, that is, the blow in itself, and the psychological, for the Guajiro thinks that by being hit in this way he has been reduced to the status of a slave or bond servant; and consequently he has not only been lowered in his standing as a free man but has also been placed on a plane of dependence with respect to the person who hit him. The indemnity must satisfy both offenses.

To tear someone's robe also has a double significance as an aggressive act: the material damage caused, which must be replaced by buying a new one (conduct of a drunken husband); and the psychological damage, as it is like injuring the person himself, since a person is identified with the clothes he wears.

Any damage to the property of a person is an aggressive act and punishable as such, and the indemnity should be greater than the loss, since the excess represents the grievance suffered.

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689 The transgression of the legal norms illustrated in the above
aggressive acts against the regimen for stability in La Guajira
191 must be paid for both by a member of the society as well as by an outsider. But there are two things which can only apply to a native individual, an active member of the Guajiro community. These two things are the following.

a) Language. The Indian very much values his native language and tries to preserve it at all cost. His women do not want to learn Spanish and pretend they do not know it when they are questioned. It constitutes in itself a grave offense if one native speaks to another in Spanish instead of his native tongue. The story is told of a Guajiro who spoke to a relative in Spanish during

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689 191 a family chat. The man thus addressed, greatly offended by what in Guajiro culture is considered a great insult, flogged him pitilessly, after having hung him by his hands from a tree. Later he wanted to kill him but was prevented by the onlookers. As he was a close relative he could not demand compensation payment, but he repaid himself for the offense by inflicting punishment. This was so terrible that the boy became mentally unbalanced and up to the time of our visit had not fully regained the use of his faculties. /188/

It is believed that the native who does not use his own language as a medium of expression among the other natives does not because he is ashamed of his own people and openly disowns them by substituting one language for another. Also, to accept another mode of expression indicates a superiority of the latter over the former, and of the foreign element over the native.

689 291 177 b) *Breaking away of the individual from the consanguineous family group and, in general, from the Guajiro community*. This is best expressed by the following facts. Some time ago, the Guajiro boy educated in the mission or who emigrated to other centers was obliged to use the clothes used by *civilizados* /non-natives/. If he returned to his own environment again he had to use the *guayuco* once more and give up trousers. Nowadays, mestizos and rich Indians have adopted the use of a shirt or undershirt but without abandoning the *guayuco*, which has become converted into a garment of a distinctive Guajiro character. When a man from the peninsula wishes to show that he has broken with Guajiro culture, that he has thrown off affective, consanguineous, and legal ties, and that he has placed himself outside their society, he refuses to use a *guayuco*, which he hangs up in some noticeable place as a symbol of his break with the past. An equivalent act can be seen in the women. The Guajiro Indian woman denies that she is such when she refuses to wear the robe, but at present the significance of this rejection has weakened and is now replaced by the open abandoning of an undergarment, which corresponds to the men's *guayuco*, both functionally and symbolically. It is a

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689 kind of trousers which is kept up by the so-called sirapo, a belt
177 of cords and beads whose inheritance has a special meaning.
[291] The Guajiro woman who wishes to renounce her society and her culture hangs these garments up and leaves her home.

These two acts are carried out when individual interests clash with collective ones, when a social pattern must be complied with at the risk of not surviving. Here we have the case of certain Guajiro girls educated by Christian norms. When they reach marriageable age, they must submit to their own cultural patterns, which permit polygamy, and they must be bought, just as their female antecessors were. This clashes with the education they have received under other norms. Others reject the family's imposition of its own candidate for a husband and the fact that they are not allowed to follow their own affectionate impulses, etc. To such a girl there are various solutions she may take to disregard the social norms of her consanguineous relatives: committing suicide, if it comes to that, but this idea, which in extreme cases is carried out, also clashes with the moral concepts in which she has been educated; running away, but this recourse is very difficult for a woman of standing with /189/ many relatives. Then she sees as the ultimate solution the prospect of breaking with her culture, which is no longer compatible with her world view as a civilized /civilizado/ woman. She looks for refuge in a civilized institution of this kind and finds it in the Capuchin mission. In this way a number of young Guajiro have arrived looking for protection after having hung up the guayuco and the sirapo as a symbol of the break with everything that was theirs.

This is an offense of a very grave character, not only for the abandoned relatives but for the whole social collectivity. It is thought that whoever does it expresses clearly his contempt for the whole cultural group to which he belonged, placing it by this act on a lower plane. This hurts the native and increases his feeling of inferiority when confronted by the white man and brings to the fore resentments which sometimes have remained

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689 177 hidden. The breaking up of the cultural institutions against which the aggression is directed is accelerated, and these forms /of protest/, in spite of the disagreeable consequences to the individual who makes them, are becoming more numerous. Lately it has not been necessary to resort to such extreme attitudes as those mentioned, since the tenacious refusal of a woman who does not want to conform to a cultural pattern has been sufficient; this conduct does not now place her outside the institutions to which she belongs by birth, but permits her -- without sanction -- to adopt the cultural norms of the whites in this respect, or violate her own as in the case of prostitution and adultery.

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684 Another type of aggression directed against the regimen for collective stability is that determined by punishable acts relating to sex.

The abuse of a young Guajiro girl without legal purchase is an act of aggression which gives cause for the paying of an indemnity.

In this aspect of abuse one must consider violation and surreptitious sexual relations.

The first is more grave and demands a large payment from the offender, not only for illegally making use of property to which he had no right, but for the way he did it, socially humuliating for the woman and her consanguineous relatives because force is employed and wounds received, /both/ evaluated as injuries.

In the second case, in which the expressed consent of the woman is taken for granted, payment is demanded only for the sexual use of the woman and for taunting the woman's family group.

The man who pays for abuse in either of these two cases does not acquire future rights over the woman. He has paid

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for what he took advantage of in the /190/ past and nothing more. If he wishes, he may buy the woman as a wife after what has happened, but this is voluntary, whereas the previous payment is obligatory and its compliance is as strictly enforced as it is in cases of bloodshed. In this payment for abuse, the offender is not helped by his consanguineous relatives nor his friends, who show their disapproval of his conduct in this way, but they will intervene to oblige him to pay an adequate indemnity.

In cases of adultery when the man not only is certain but has proof of the infidelity of his wife, he demands from her maternal relatives a payment for the offense that the act has inflicted on him (See Adultery in Chapter V).

In cases of pregnancy, the woman's condition is considered in a certain way as an aggressive act on the man's part because it gives rise in her organism to a series of inconveniences for which the husband or the man who caused the pregnancy has to pay, and in effect does pay, in livestock, which he hands over to the pregnant woman's maternal relatives and of which she may have no part since they are subject to a magic taboo. This payment is still made even though the pregnancy is illegal and the price for abuse has been paid.

Payment for giving birth (suffering and bloodshed) is also demanded in the case of both legitimate and illegitimate birth. This indemnity is paid to the woman's uterine relatives.

Abortion is an act of aggression, and the injurers in this act may be either the husband or the woman's consanguineous relatives, according to who provoked it. If the man did by ill-treatment or sexual demands, the woman's family presents the claim for compensation payment. For this reason the man never suggests abortion to either his wife or his mistress and for the same reason she never confesses it to him when she resorts to it, even when it was done during the time when she was unmarried to free herself from the problems inherent in an illegitimate pregnancy.

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684 When the abortion is provoked by the woman when she is
682 in an advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband demands compensation payment, and the act is considered a homicide.

684 An offense of a very grave character for an individual and
838 his relatives is the attempt made by a homosexual to abuse him. Generally, this aggressive act is directed against defenseless young boys, who can be physically forced to submit. Their relatives demand compensation payment, not only for the physical molestation suffered by their relative but for the psychological and social significance of the offense, which completely devolves on them.

684 Exhibitionism of a sexual type is considered a punishable
839 act because it entails an offense against the modesty of those present, and if /191/ the spectator is a person of high standing, it implies moreover a grave offense to his high status which demands respect from others; in this case the payment is greater and may cause strong reprisals to be taken against the offender's relatives. These offenses may refer to homosexual practices, suggestions or representations real or imaginary of copulation, or exhibition of the genital organs. Both sexes may undress in
[515 public without the spectators feeling offended, as happens at
831] the public baths, where the women bathe without concern, taking care to cross their legs. The man holds the penis to his waist in a way that his hairiness covers him and so does not offend the modesty of the bystanders.

684 Other aspects which have to be taken into consideration are the offenses that the woman can inflict on the man during married life. Let us remember that Goajiro women, even to this day, are bought without their wishes being taken into account, and that those who cannot avoid this marriage -- by means of suicide, flight, or breaking with the community -- may refuse to cohabit with the husband imposed on them or to satisfy his sexual desires. The man then abandons such a woman or demands compensation payment for the pain her attitude has caused him and refuses to resume his position as

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684 husband until this payment has been made. It is very common for the man not to make any demand for money for the hurt inflicted but to try to revenge himself by his future attitude. The Guajiro women say that a woman once initiated into sexual life acquires the need for repetition of the act. Then the man refuses to satisfy her, does not frequent the home, and does not give the slightest sign of his affection. The woman is in fact abandoned and yet in the situation of a married woman without a husband, with the obligations inherent in marriage and none of its rights.

Another aspect considered as an aggressive act is the fraud entailed when a man discovers that the woman he has married is not a virgin (See Valuation of virginity in the chapter, Premarital Considerations).

As homosexuality is very much disapproved of in the
684 culture and regarded as almost an enforced degeneration of
838 the young slaves, whoever practices it draws on himself the
628 contempt and scorn of society, and his status is compared to that of those outside society. It is the custom, when two groups are at enmity, to hurl an insult which must result in a decision by arms. This insult consists in telling the enemy that their men would not even serve as women for their opponents. The hidden aim is to avoid legal proceedings and to start a war without quarter, in which they hope to obtain more advantages than by peaceful and orderly negotiation. /192/

682 The most serious aggressive act is homicide. No attenuating circumstances are taken into account, not even that the killing was involuntary or done in self-defense, since the Guajiro solely considers the act itself: An individual took the life of another and serves punishment.

Let us consider some aspects of this type of aggression.

1. Voluntary homicide, that is, one person killing another consciously and deliberately.

2. Involuntary homicide, that is, one person killing another without intending to execute an aggressive act, such as

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682 when a shot hits a person during hunting, or when a shot is fired
accidentally at the moment the owner or someone else is clean-
ing a gun and in this way kills another, etc. Included in these
cases we must note one that occurs very frequently when a man
lends a gun. If an accident occurs which results in the death of a
third person, that is, a homicide, the owner of the gun must help
the man who caused the accident to pay for the death. If it is
used to commit suicide, again it is the owner of the gun who must
pay. For this reason the material objects that a person uses for
[672] killing himself are punished. As the general custom is to hang
oneself, the beam and the rope are burned at such a time; and if
the act was done inside a dwelling, it is also burned, although
in this case for another reason connected now with magic. In
summary, then, we can say that homicide is considered as such
without any excuses for those who commit it, directly or indirectly.

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Suicide brings punishment on the person who has provoked it,
682 directly or indirectly. Very frequently young men commit suicide
762 when their father, mother, or other relatives reprimand them or
do not satisfy some whim. And girls do the same when they are
sold in marriage by their uterine relatives without taking their
wishes into account.

In this case those who gave cause for the suicide are held responsible. If it was the mother or some relative of hers, the father of the suicide demands compensation payment, or if the reverse -- if it was the father -- the mother with her relatives do the same. /193/

If a man should commit suicide because of unrequited love, when for example he asks to buy a girl and her relatives will not let him have her as his wife or she refuses his amorous attentions and in consequence he commits suicide, the claim for compensation payment for his death is made against the maternal relatives of the girl or against whoever refused to let him buy her.

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681 762 As the most important function of a wife is to take care of her husband, particularly his health, she must answer for it to his maternal relatives, if for some reason he commits suicide; she is considered guilty of his death, as well as guilty of not having been at his side to prevent it. We have information of men who committed suicide while they were drunk and their wives were absent for some very well-justified reason, and the husbands' maternal relatives made the wives responsible for their deaths because they said that it was their first and most important duty to avoid these tragedies by watching their husbands every moment while they were drunk.

If ill-treatment by the husband or other act for which he is responsible provokes his wife's suicide, her relatives present a claim for compensation payment against him as guilty of her death.

Anyone who by a slight, a joke, or an offense drives someone else to commit suicide is made responsible for the death and for this reason must pay for the criminal act.

Attempted suicide is also punished; the maternal relatives demand from the person who made the attempt an adequate indemnity for having broken a law, because he has no right to spill his own blood, the bond common to the other members, nor to dispose of his life, which belongs to the consanguineous group, nor to cause the group the pain of his death.

682 Guajiro law considers the uterine relatives of the expectant mother responsible for the life of the child about to be born, and if the child dies they are made responsible and must pay the husband, if the cause of the death was a wrong movement made by the mother during the delivery, or noncompliance with the midwife's instructions, etc. But if the child is the first child, who must be born in the home of the expectant mother's maternal relatives, and the father has not taken her there and the woman does not receive adequate attention and the baby dies, the blame is placed on the husband, who must pay for the death of his son to his wife's maternal relatives.

If a child dies while the father is absent, and the mother has not complied with her obligation to give him immediate news

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682 of the child's illness, he may demand a compensation payment as though she had been to blame for the child's death. /194/

When a woman dies in childbirth, her maternal relatives demand compensation payment from the husband.

When the death of an individual is caused by the infidelity of one of his wives, that is, when the husband kills her lover because he has discovered her committing the delict of adultery, or simply because he suspects it, the dead man's family demand compensation payment for homicide from the husband's family, in spite of the fact that he isbacked by popular opinion since it is considered a sign of manliness to kill one's wife's lover. Apart from this demand, they may make a second one for compensation payment, this time from the adulterous woman's relatives as they consider her to have been the cause of the tragedy.

When both husband and rival perish in the struggle, which sometimes happens, the richer and more important family demands compensation payment, even though they are the lover's family and in spite of the fact that his death is considered justified by Guajiro legal conscience; his relatives allege that the maternal relatives of the husband must pay because they are not their economic and social equals. In this way the principle of justice which inspires all Guajiro law is satisfied; the law favors the litigant group of relatives which has the higher status. The payment the woman has to make is twofold: to the maternal relatives of the lover and to those of the husband, since she is responsible for the whole affair.

When the husband kills the lover in a fight which originated from the wife's adultery, the husband is made to pay for the death, especially if the dead man's consanguineous relatives belong to a group of superior status. They legalize their claim for compensation payment by saying: "What right has this man who has nothing to pay us with to put his hands on our relative, to spill his blood, taking away his life and separating his spirit? What does it matter that he did it in defending his right to his wife whom he bought for himself, if he has nothing to pay us with?" In this case the family group of the dead man, without any negotiations whatever, takes justice into its own hands, razing, destroying, and

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682 taking for itself everything it can lay hands on, unless some alliance of relatives reinforces the unprotected position of the husband's group and obliges the others to follow legal proceedings.

If a Guajiro, man or woman, dies suddenly in a house where he has sought temporary hospitality, the woman who is head of that house must pay for his death to the dead man's maternal relatives, who, considering her culpable, demand compensation payment. A case is known in Upper La Guajira of an individual who, having helped in the communal work of seed sowing, drank a great quantity of chicha made from wild yucca /yuca brava/ given to him by the owners of the field. He started off for home late in the afternoon in an advanced state of drunkenness. As it was getting late, he asked for hospitality /195/ in the first house that he passed on the road. To comply with the laws of hospitality, they took him in, hung up a hammock in the enramada /shelter of boughs/ so that he could go to bed and spend the night. They gave him nothing to drink. The next day they found him dead. It is very probable that the chicha of wild yucca had not been sufficiently cooked and for that reason had not lost its toxic nature, and this had killed him. Nevertheless, because he died in the house where they had hospitably taken him in, the owners of the house were held liable to his maternal relatives for his death.

This application of the law makes the Guajiro very solicitous of those who ask for hospitality and also obliges him to do his utmost if his guest becomes ill, to attend to him, and to report the news at the earliest possible moment to his relatives so that they can come and see him and thus free the host from the responsibility for his death.

Guajiro law considers the head of the house as author of, and the one responsible for, the death when he gives the participants in a communal piece of work insufficiently cooked chicha made of wild yucca which intoxicates and kills any of them. This covers any food or drink believed to cause the death of anyone.

Here we must add the delict of causing the death of another by spreading a disease. We have the case of a native woman from

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682 Upper La Guajira who arrived in Uribia suffering from measles and asked for hospitality in the house of a friend of hers of the well-to-do class. This friend, the owner of the house, could not deny her request and as a result caught the measles and died. The family of the dead woman demanded a very high compensation payment from the woman who brought the disease.

One must also consider the homicide caused, according to the Guajiro mentality by the breaking of a taboo. The Guajiro woman during her periods of pregnancy and menstruation, the murderer, and the participants in funeral rites are at all times bearers of a malignant magic power that can infect, hurt, or kill young children and people seriously ill. If one of these tabooed people presents himself at a house where there is one of those liable to this evil influence, and this person dies within a period such that it can be presumed that the death was the result of the transgression of the taboo, his maternal relatives declare the tabooed person guilty of the death or illness of the child when this occurs, or of the seriousness of the sickness in question.

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648 When a Guajiro's death is caused by a white, that is, by an individual who does not belong to the community, the idea of blame is governed by the norms just set forth. At the present time they generally submit /196/ to Guajiro law as the punitive form, but customarily in the peninsula, one of these deaths is paid for by the death of three civilizados /nonnatives/, since many Indians still believe that every civilizado is part of a homogeneous consanguineous family group. Others know this is not so, but nevertheless the death of an Indian by a white gives rise to strong reprisals and even to the death of the white man. If the murderer remains in the peninsula territory or near it, it is almost certain that he will be killed tragically by some relative of the murdered man, who will wait, although already well paid, for some suitable occasion to kill him.

685 Other kinds of aggressive acts are those involved in the theft of food, livestock, and personal belongings.

The first two are the most common in the peninsula, to the point that some authors and travelers have considered theft to be

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685 a peculiar characteristic of the Guajiro Indian. They steal from the time they are children, since the scarcity of food in La Guajira makes the child steal food from his younger brother, from his relatives, and from outsiders; and he eats it immediately or takes it away and hides it in the woods to use when it is possible and convenient to his need.

This means that they are punished when they steal food from their own homes and praised when they steal it from outsiders. Even men frequently steal from the sown fields at night, and there is hardly a stock breeder who does not have to exercise scrupulous vigilance over his livestock day and night to avoid being the victim of thieves. At night the livestock must be shut up in well-fenced corrals, annexed to the houses, but even so they are frequently stolen. During the day the flocks are never allowed to pasture without someone looking after them. The Guajiro knows and can distinguish from others the tracks of his animals, which permits him to track them over long distances, helped by the sandy soil, until he finds where they are. The tracker follows the thief until he finds him, and if he discovers him with the stolen animal it is not unusual for him to kill him. If he knows who the thief is, he goes at once to this man's closest relatives, demanding indemnity, which they will certainly pay, because if they do not, the wronged man will take advantage of any opportunity to recuperate his loss and damages by his own hand.

When they wish to know who the rustler is, they frequently
787 have recourse to the diviner, who takes a cigarette, a wand, or a firebrand, according to his speciality, and lights it. In the wisps of smoke and in the way the flame consumes the burning article, he believes that he can find, after long observation, the thief and the place where the stolen thing can be found. /197/

When they recover an important object, the family that had lost it give a small feast in which an animal is slaughtered to
533 divide among attending friends; *chicha* and rum are drunk, and
535 a drum is beaten with the monotonous, prolonged rhythm to which they dance the *chicha maya* for several nights.

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685 The punishments which the Guajiro establish to punish crimes against property are varied and very elastic in their application, since it depends on the standing and strength of those concerned.

We have seen how the first reaction when a thief is discovered is to kill him, in spite of the consequences it can bring. If they do not kill him at once, they follow a curious magic process aimed at the same end: to contrive the thief's death. "This is why when they recover a cow or an animal that had been stolen from [789] them, or it reappears, they cut its hair and bury it up to its neck; the owners surround it and cry as if they were at a wake; they insult and curse the thief, reinforcing their actions with explosions of gunpowder, which they mix with ashes and the hair of the stolen animal. In this way they believe they will cause the death of the thief (1)."

1. Jahn, Alfred. *Los Aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela*, page 187.

Guajiro law stipulates as indemnity for the theft of an object or an animal, double or sometimes three times the value of the stolen item. Generally it is double, to pay for what was stolen and indemnification for damages. But the application of the law exceeds this at times, particularly when it is made effective on unprotected groups, in which case it has on occasion gone as high as ten times the value of what was stolen and even the elimination of the thief's family, leaving them in abject misery because they took away all their herds, as happens in Jarara. In this region, which is dryer than the rest of the peninsula and consequently lacking in agricultural resources, the whole economic life is centered around stock raising, which provides food and in olden times helped to provide clothing. If the thief is punished by taking away his livestock, he is by that act reduced to the margin of the social collectivity, since he finds himself obliged to emigrate as he has no other means of livelihood. When he emigrates he abandons his lands, which his enemies take. These

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685 groups left destitute by the application of the law governing theft join others, impoverished by the summer /droughts/ for example, and form the social part of the community which is easily forced into bond service by the stronger groups. (Cf. Chap. Slavery and Bond Service.)

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691 Informer. In La Guajira the informer acquires the character of an institution which helps to maintain the regimen for social stability in /198/ the peninsula. This individual -- man or woman -- busies himself bringing to members of any family group news of an infraction of any legal precept which affects them and which has not been done in their presence. For instance, if the name of a dead man was spoken, if a joke was made about him, if someone stepped on his grave, etc., the informer carries the news to the interested parties, so that when the indemnity is paid for the aggressive act, he as informer will get his share. When two family groups find themselves enemies through the violation by one of the sides of some section of the regimen for social stability, they are very careful not to comment about the case in front of outsiders, because the news, misrepresented, may be taken to the opposite side, obstructing at times the legal work of the arbitrator and causing an open struggle between the two sides. The informer wants to have the right to a part when the distribution of the indemnity is carried out.

Where the action of the informer is most noticeable is in the case of a constant struggle among various co-wives. He takes advantage of this situation of mutual rancor, bringing and taking news of the movements of their husband from one to the other, etc., to obtain a remuneration for his services.

The informer defends his position, participating directly but without getting himself involved in the legal infraction against the family group to whom he reports. Later he justifies his right to receive indemnity by asserting that he too has suffered pain, has shed tears for example, when the offense has led to the death of a person, and he served as a mourner during the ceremony which followed the death.

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681 614 It is with this understanding that the distribution of animals is made on such an occasion, and with it, payment is made for the pain received for any offense. On the day that such a payment is to be made, all the friends of the beneficiary arrive, reminding him of, and drawing his attention to, the information they gave him and the pain that the offense has given them. At this time the services already given to the group in the past are evaluated and possible future aid is taken into consideration. The totality of various attitudes observed at this moment is known to the Guajiro by the name of jurijonear, which means "to be present at a distribution in order to obtain for any reason some part of it."

In Guajiro law there exists one aspect which we must consider: when the clan group does not accept joint responsibility for an infraction against the regime for social stability by one of its members.

One of the cases when the coercive action of the whole clan is /199/ shown is when an individual commits a delict of such a nature that it provokes in his own consanguineous relatives the reaction of considering him to be outside the collectivity, which signifies in fact that he is also outside Guajiro society. This was the case of the Kusina, marginal outlaws, who were slowly extinguished by all the other clan groups, who made common cause against them. They were individuals turned out of the cla[illegible] organization by their own consanguineous relatives becau[illegible] violations against the culture's regimen for social stability.

681 682 614 With respect to the breaking of the regimen for social stability by homicide, it is necessary to note the individual expiation that the violator is obliged to carry out. The offender submits himself voluntarily to a special regimen (1) the object of which is to make

1. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, Part 1, 1947. Bogotá, 1950. Pages 82 and following.

/199 cont./

681 amends to a certain extent for the wrong both before his own
614 conscience and the opinion of his kin; the Guajiro murderer tries
by means of this expiation to avoid being again involved in an
682 act the consequences of which have already fallen so heavily on his kin; to free himself in some way from the social coaction which his act has provoked; and most particularly to placate the dead man's spirit which from the moment of his death has followed him everywhere, crying for satisfaction and helping in the punishment of the offender. The Guajiro murderer believes so fully that he is pursued by the spirit of the murdered person that in those cases in which the author of the crime is not known, the guilty man, obsessed by such a belief, especially when he is sick, confesses his crime publicly and submits to the legal prescriptions which envelop both him and his kin.

After this regimen of expiation, the Guajiro murderer must bear the social coaction which forms all around him, expressed especially by the isolation which is imposed on him. Certain aspects of magic are connected with the murderer which oblige him to keep on the margin of society; for instance, he cannot visit sick people because he will make them worse, nor homes where there are children because they will become sick at his presence; wherever he goes he will carry with him the infuriated spirit of the dead man, which produces these evil results.

His social status goes down as an immediate consequence, and his economic position suffers considerably, because the delict of blood prohibits him from freely and efficiently exercising the productive activities which he used to perform, besides condemning him to live in exile for many long years. /page 200 is blank/

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XIII

PRESENTATION OF A CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION PAYMENT

628 A claim for compensation payment /cobro/ is presented to a family group when it has violated some point of the regimen for personal security or collective stability, thereby violationg a civil or judicial right of another group. It is an essential condition that the two groups should be more or less equally placed socially and economically, because when there is inequality, the stronger does not wait for the regular procedure of justice, but gains it by its own hand, in accordance with its own wishes.

The person who brings the "word," that is, the one who is charged with presenting the claim for compensation payment to a family group is, as a general rule, the cacique of a region (Cf. Chap. VII) or someone else of prestige, who receives from the offended clan group the charge of delivering its demand and demonstrating /the grounds for/ the complaint to the other group. Let us see how a claim for death is effected.

A claim for death is presented when the family of the murderer is considered capable of paying for the murder, that is, of a social and economic position equal to that of the dead man.

The man who speaks for the offended clan, in addition to belonging to neither of the two bands, must tener palabra /"have word"/. By tener palabra a Guajiro means a person, man or woman, who is a master of the native language, knows very clearly the suitable course /to take/ for every situation; who is capable of expressing his thoughts in a fluid and clear form, without hesitation, with the necessary energy before all the men congregated together to hear him; who, possessing the gift of clear and serene exposition, at the same time is easy and pertinent in repartee; who can dominate his audience because his phrases have great power of conviction to establish, above all, the superiority of the group which he is representing against its

/201 cont./

628 adversary; who knows how to describe the situation of the offended group without humbling it or provoking a negative reaction from the enemy; who is capable of making the opponents feel their guilt without injuring them; who leads them by means of considerations of personal convenience to the acceptance of a commitment which benefits the group he is defending, without being too /202/ onerous for the other; who does not provoke resistance and criticism from the opposing group; who does not appear to be a prosecutor but rather a mediator of good will in the problem of the interested parties; who knows how to listen serenely to the insults that the two groups hurl at each other and does not transmit them literally, but rather in a form that will lead to a settlement; who knows how to get the better of his adversary, not only through his inferiority as the guilty party but through his personal weaknesses as a man; and finally, who conducts the discussion cleverly, now humbly, now proudly, in accordance with the changes of opinion of his hearers, recalling the past or presenting to the enemy the dangers of an anxious future if they do not come to some settlement, showing the bitterness of exile and the distress of a life without peace and the natural advantage of a settlement which benefits both equally, until he overcomes the antagonist and obliges him of his own accord, without annoyance of rancor, to make the peace after a solemn promise to make a settlement or a commitment to pay a just amount to the offended group.

The procedure is as follows: Having been charged with the representation of one group to present the claim for compensation payment to the other, he who brings the "word" goes to the house of the murderer's closest relatives.

He arrives very early, at two o'clock in the morning generally, before the assembled family has dispersed to attend to its daily work.

He draws the attention of the owners of the house to his [576] presence, and they give him the usual salutation, *Ansh pía* ("Have you arrived?"), which permits him to introduce himself. They all rise and talk to him; then he explains the reason for his visit; he has come to present a claim on the part of such-and-such a

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628 group for such-and-such a delict, and he expounds at once the conditions, if the deed is not considered very grave, that is, if it is not for murder. If it has assumed a special gravity, he asks for a gathering of all the men of the family in a certain place, near which the men of the offended group will also meet. He serves as intermediary between the two in order to arrive at a settlement.

At the specified place on the day set both groups gather, armed and considerably animated, which makes it necessary to maintain a certain distance between them to avoid clashes and worse consequences.

Then begins the most interesting part of the mediator's work, trying to bring to an agreement the interests of the two bands, taking into consideration the means of the offender without defrauding the offended. Success depends in great part on his action. He listens to the demands and charges of one, which he then carries to the others after thinking them over, and after expounding /203/ them and listening to their reply, which he transmits to the other group. His attitude must almost be neutral; if the opponents get angry, he must remain impassive because he must not lose his serenity, or he will not be able to reply in a convincing manner. His words must be measured, although at times he may have to allow himself to be swayed by the force of the sentiments of one or the other side in order to persuade. His first moments of contact between the two bands is dedicated to directing soothing, calming words to the offended ones, making promises of a possible settlement because the other side wishes it, appeasing their bad feelings and somewhat restricting their excessive demands. On the other side, he represses the outbursts of rebellion, the tendency to solve the problem by arms, and endeavors to give to his mediation the aspect of a disinterested counsel, in which capacity he hopes to be listened to.

Thus he takes to the group he represents the words of their adversaries: "It is better that we do not wage war, brother. I come with my men to attain the peace which a settlement with you can give me. I want to satisfy your just anger. And the

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628 fact is that I don't have, as you do, enough enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ to bring together all my people attacked by yours." (He may be richer than his adversary and the person who brings the "word" makes his side believe that there is a strong desire to come to a settlement on the opposite side. With this their anger and their pretensions grow less, and a settlement is possible. He does not repeat, for any reason whatever, insults and threats, because it would only increase bad feeling and cause the mediation to fail). "I lack sufficient hammocks to offer them hospitality. I don't have enough cooking pots and provisions to satisfy their necessities and sufficient animals to slaughter every morning. We want to work. We want to go back peacefully again to our everyday work. I want to be free; to be able to sleep peacefully in the early morning without fear of attack, without the worry caused by hearing the dogs barking to announce the arrival of your people in a warlike manner. I want my mother and my sisters, my aunts and my nieces to be able to wander in peace about the woods looking for iguarayas; I want them to be able to go each day to the well for water without being waylaid and without having to be escorted, to be able to walk on every road without fearing an attack from your people, to be able to go visiting without worry, and not to wait anxiously every day for the return of our sons. I don't want to think that the women of my family or my nieces may be made into slaves by your violence after having been born free. I don't want you to seal my springs nor violate my women. I want to live peacefully with my own people, who respect me; I want to die peacefully on my land and be buried in it. I don't for a moment want to meet death at the hands of your people, a death which all future generations of my descendants will bewail /204/ and which will make our enmity the greater. For this, brother, I do not want war and come for peace."

These words, although they are not said by the adversary, must be said by the good arbitrator to his own side, who in this way believe they see in their enemy good will to make amends for the ill done to them, and so their feelings are predisposed

1: Gutierrez de Pineda--248 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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628 toward making a settlement and establishing a payment which will restore peace. The people, on hearing the words, are moved and applaud the facile oratory of the person who brings the "word"; they praise him and begin to give ground in their too onerous demands against the clan of the murderer; they put to one side the haughty tone with which they started the proceedings and begin to outline the basis for a settlement, which the arbitrator then transmits to the other side.

However, it may happen that the clan that has suffered the death of its relative, inflamed by the loss and also wishing to prevent the other side from thinking them afraid, boasts of its force and shows its dislike of the settlement. Thus, it declares to the other: "I am a rich Indian. My people are brave and are ready to fight. I want our people to measure their strength against yours. We are not able to forget that one of your men cowardly spilled our blood and took away a life, which was part of ours, too. His spirit cannot rest and still wanders about the places where he was slaughtered. We want to make felt in those of your blood what they have done to ours, so that you do not laugh at our pain nor think us cowards. Dying means nothing to us if for each one of ours we kill more of yours, and our nephews will multiply to avenge our deaths. We're not afraid of you, and we want to fight. We are eager to prove to you that we are capable of making you respect our pain and of avenging our spilled blood. We are not cowards; nobody can yet dominate our men, and they have the courage to make themselves respected. Yours aren't even good as women for ours. We ask for war."

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554 The Guajiro Indian fears above everything else that he be thought a coward, because then the other groups would not respect his rights. His women would be easily violated without obligatory payment; his cowardice and his fear would be thrown up at him at every moment in such a way that his social life would be made impossible. On the other hand, as long as they are more brave and more cruel, they are sure of implanting fear, and with it authority and power. A group that is feared is a powerful group and one that maintains its status.

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628 On some occasions the offender group replies again that it wants peace. "Yes, I know that you are rich and want war. I know that you are well armed and that your people busy themselves night and day preparing for the struggle. But I don't want this." (He returns to the humble tone as a tactic for obtaining a lesser obligatory payment.) "I'm not rich. You do not know /205/ that I don't have enough enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ to shelter my people molested by yours. I don't have enough hammocks to give them hospitality or animals to slaughter or pots to prepare their food. I've told you that they want to go back to their work again, look after their livestock, and await the first rains to do their sowing. They prefer to make a sacrifice and pay you for the offense we have done you so that we may go hunting in the woods and travel on the roads without having to take short cuts because of the fear of meeting some of you. I want to live many years to see my niece's children. I want to take my livestock to distant pasturage and in the winter see them grazing peacefully on my land, which I do not want to be obliged to leave. I want to die and be buried on the land of my people. War is not a game nor a light thing; for this reason I tell you again that I want peace."

In addition to these words spoken by the head of the group to which the murderer belongs, the arbitrator emphasizes to the side he represents the willingness their enemies show to come to some agreement, how pained they are by the bad thing that was done and in which they find themselves involved against their will; they declare it was an accident. He reminds them that they have nieces and sisters who would suffer the consequences of a war. He begs them to think of so many innocent people who are going to suffer the consequences of a rash attack. He talks to them about the future of the group, so peaceful and so happy before, worried and constantly disturbed by a war without quarter which little by little will destroy the important members of the family; he tells them it is better to come to a friendly settlement which offers security and an indemnity for the wrong done than to take justice into their own hands, risking their own lives and those of their relatives without any advantage. Furthermore,

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he reminds them of their group's past, the favors they have received at times from their present enemies; the happy hours passed in their company, etc., always emphasizing that what happened was an accident, a misfortune for which those responsible now wish to make amends in the best way possible, and wooing them with the prospect of the economic advantages they can obtain by a peaceful settlement that brings with it all the advantages of peace.

The arbitrator returns once more to the other group, carrying his impressions back and forth and the bases for an agreement, which begins to outline itself, until he achieves a final settlement.

However, in this first meeting the arbitrator sometimes does not reach anything conclusive, and to see if he can obtain better results, he asks for a second session to try his luck. /206/

Once the two bands have decided that the affair can be arranged by means of a payment, the difficulty of getting them both to agree on the amount arises; one side asks too much, surpassing the means of the other to pay, and the latter in turn does not want to pay what is just in such cases. At times the offended group demands things which can hurt the feelings of the other side: the necklace that the murderer's mother received when she got married, for instance, with the idea of humiliating them. Or a very high price is demanded, which causes the offenders to protest: "Don't demand so much. It is true that we ought to pay you more but remember that we are not rich. The long summer parched our grass, and our animals, thin with hunger, died beside the dried-up wells. Our crops dried up for want of water without giving any harvest, and our families suffer from scarcity and need. The epidemics at the end of winter took our loved relatives, and the rest have had to emigrate to foreign lands, looking for work and food. In spite of our troubles, we want the peace that a friendly settlement with you would bring. We want peace. We do not want to look at you with hate nor to have to avoid each other on our common roads. We ask for justice, reminding you of all we have said, and then, to please you, we will gather all our available means. We will beg amongst all of us until we manage to get what you demand, but do not make it so much."

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628 At last the amount of the payment is definitively stipulated; so many animals, so many ornaments etc. The offenders fix a date on which they hope to have everything gathered together in the house of their leading man. The arbitrator goes there on that date and through their arbitrator, or cacique, they hand over to him in a solemn manner each one of the things they have promised to pay, so that it can be finally and duly noted. The representative then gathers together everything that has been handed over and counts it very carefully in full view of everyone. He receives the ornaments agreed upon and puts them away.

He asks for help in taking the animals given in payment and the other objects to the lands of the others. Members of the group accept this charge at the order of their leader and drive the animals to the borders of the litigants' property, and then return. From there the livestock are taken by members of the offended clan to the house of the murdered man's mother or to that of his maternal uncles. The head of the family group receives from the hands of the arbitrator the stipulated payment and distributes it in a way that we shall see later on, in the pertinent section.

When feelings run very high on both sides and when after postponing and holding several different meetings no agreement is reached /207/ between the two groups, due to the exaggerated greediness of one side and the bad will of the other, the moment arrives when the arbitrator can do no more, and as the problem remains without a peaceful solution, that is, without an agreement to pay, war becomes the only acceptable formula between the two enemy groups, a defensive war on the part of the group to which the murderer belongs, an offensive war on the part of the offended group. Before they know if there is a possibility of a peaceful solution, the men of each group begin to arm themselves quickly;
411 they take animals to town to trade them for guns and equipment,
278 and they quickly make bows and arrows, especially those with a point made from the sting ray which are used in war; they prepare poisons from poisonous animals, which they leave to rot and then use to put on the points of these arrows; and in addition, they seek, if possible, magic arrows in order to obtain an easy conquest of their enemy.

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628 They go fully armed to market gatherings to prevent a possible attack from the other side; this situation, which is also expected by the opposing side, in some cases makes a peaceful settlement impossible, because the Guajiro feels that, being armed, he can violate the law with impunity; he feels it best to arrange things by armed force, and thus an atmosphere of hot-headedness is produced which at times explodes into armed clashes that end in real battles, which worsen the problem and make a legal solution impossible from every point of view, because from these fights new situations of conflict arise which cannot be resolved except on the basis of mutual reprisals that are prolonged over several generations.

When war is declared, wherever two men of the opposing groups meet, they attack each other instantly, because the fight is to the death, and if at the beginning it is the offended group which takes the offensive, from the moment that the fight is on, both sides are constantly in a state of defense and attack. Then men never go out alone but always in well-armed groups, and they try not to pass places frequented by the others, although sometimes they do so to provoke the opposition. Women of each side stop going alone to the wells, but always go escorted; they do not go visiting or looking for fruit or burros lost in the woods, because they could be attacked by the enemy, who spy on them to take them for slaves or to kill them. There is a continual state of upset and uncertainty; any moment they expect an attack from the opposite side, and everywhere they go they expect to meet an enemy or to encounter death. They cannot sleep peacefully because generally the enemy attacks at dawn to take their opponents by surprise and set fire to the dwelling, forcing the women, children, and old men to stay indoors. /208/

Attacks are frequent, and in them some of each side die, with which the enmity gets worse and worse and is carried on for several generations, each of which feels the full weight of the acts done, which naturally increases hate and the idea of vengeance, which they carry out the moment they have a chance.

Distribution of the payment. The amount of a payment depends on the value the culture puts on the offense. When dealing

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621 with the payment for the death of a Guajiro, man or woman, it is generally customary to make it in three installments, which are distributed in this manner; the first immediately after the burial; the second at the exhumation of the remains; and the third a short time later, as the final armistice, which puts an end to the family fights and closes the offense and the period of aggression, which continues until the legal infraction has been effectively purged, that is, until the final payment has been made.

The arbitrator receives the payments from the hand of the principal head of the offender group and takes it to the house of the principal head of the offended group. All the relatives who feel themselves injured by the aggression, their friends, and the informers who have made common cause with them gather there, as do those also who with their economic and social backing have reinforced the position of the injured party in order to enable the securing of the payment.

The arbitrator hands over to the most important family head what has been obtained from the opposite band, making quite clear in the presence of all what he has given, in order to avoid later problems. The distribution begins; usually it is done by the head of the family group, that is, the cacique if he has intervened, or the group head most closely related, that is, the dead man's maternal uncle with the highest position and greatest age. If no one with these two qualifications is present, the mother may carry out this function, but generally she delegates it to her eldest child or her male child. First he gives their part to the closest relatives, and then to the rest of the relatives, to recompense them for their sorrow and in order that what they receive should soothe feelings still bitter against the aggressor. This part is greater than all the rest. The relatives are /considered/ in this order: The mother, to whom they give the marriage necklace belonging to the murderer's mother; the brothers /and sisters? hermanos/ and uncles /and aunts? tios/, when the murdered person is a man, for if it is a woman, children are considered before uncles /and aunts/. Then the arbitrator is given his share, a payment settled beforehand, generally in cattle of good quality and size. Later, in order of

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628 importance, the other participants in the negotiation of the payment get their share, that is, those who reinforced the group with their attendance at the meetings, those /209/ who most impressed the relatives with the intensity of their grief, weeping for the dead and making a great show of their regret for what had happened, and particularly the men of high position who supplied great supporting strength, for one cannot alienate these connections which supply help at a moment's notice. These are given their share for their pain and their tears proportional to their position, so as not to hurt them socially, which would imply an offense and therefore enmity.

A share is also given to those who in a similar distribution had given a portion to those who are now distributing; to these they give in proportion, if not more at least an equal value to that received. And lastly, those who come to jurijonear, that is, to see what they can pick up, are not allowed to leave empty handed.

When no agreement is reached or the offenders do not wish to pay an indemnity, this is obtained by an expedition of war to the lands of the relatives of the offender; the members of this expedition sieze goods and people, after burning and razing all they cannot take and killing all the men they cannot enslave. With the booty taken, they return to the house of the closest relative to carry out the distribution. Generally, the head of this punitive expedition is the closest relative, or the so-called cacique of the family group. They initiate the distribution in a form similar to that already described, handling over in this case in addition to the material goods -- livestock and ornaments -- the slaves captured, whom they distribute in the same proportion as the rest of the booty to the closest relatives, then to distant ones, and then to the participants in the armed attack, according to their status.

The other payments, the second and third, are distributed in the presence of all, favoring the nearest blood relatives and those of higher position with the larger portions.

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628 Long after these payments have been made, sometimes 30 years or more later, some Guajiro groups of relatives have resurrected the family past and with it have remembered the deaths which took place. As a consequence of this renewal of times gone by, some of the present-day descendants, without having known their distant relatives, want to start demands for payment from the descendants, also distant, of the homicide group; and it has happened sometimes that the latter, intimidated, have paid again the debt that their ancestors had already paid to excess. /page 210 blank/

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XIV

LAND

423 With regard to ownership, land in La Guajira Peninsula is divided into three classes: a) land that belongs to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities and to some whites and mestizos, whose ownership is governed by the Colombian code; b) Indian land of clan ownership; c) wasteland. We will study the last two types which are those related to this study.

Clan land. Clan land includes the territories occupied by different groups of relatives and their ownership is determined by oral tradition which indicates the places where their ancestors were established in accordance with legends associated with Mareiwa (Cf. The Clan). However, the lands of each clan are not circumscribed to a particular region but are rather more or less extensive properties spread over various places in the peninsula. A single clan group can have property in Upper La Guajira and in Lower La Guajira and at the same time in different places in each of these, which in great measure has facilitated the gradual dismemberment of the clan. Each portion is subdivided into land suitable for planting crops, grassland for pasturing, woods, and wasteland zones.

/211 cont./

423 428 The geophysical conditions of the region limit the likelihood of agricultural land, which is reduced to strips on the banks of streams or even to the beds of these streams, which are dry during the summer months, and to the immediate environs of wells. As a consequence this limitation has resulted in these arable portions being traditionally in the hands of a number of small families of the clan group, who hold them among themselves; and the right of usufruct is passed from uncle to nephew following the maternal line, in such a manner that, within the common ownership which governs clan land, these plots are a kind of private family property. It is for this reason that a man owning a piece of this land will parcel it out to his nephews, the sons of his sister, when these youths reach an age in which their capacity for labor fits them for agricultural work. Thus it is true that by this system /212/ of inheritance, the ownership of agricultural land is kept in the clan, but held also by a particular family of the clan.

423 [177] One can also mention a second form of access to arable land: when the father cedes to his sons a part of his ownership for its usufruct and in order that they may help to maintain the home. But the use of this plot can be in effect only during the father's lifetime because when he dies his nephews, the sons of his sister and his legitimate heirs, will take definitive possession of the land. Only in the process of acculturation does this system break down, since with Catholic marriage it is the father's sons and not the nephews who become the recognized heirs of such property.

One may also obtain possession of plots of agricultural land by the opening up of new land, which occurs when the traditional family lands lose their fertility or are reduced in size due to successive inheritance. But for some years this phenomenon has been quite rare for two reasons: the prolongation of summers, which makes agricultural work impossible, and emigration, of which we have already spoken extensively in this study.

423 425 The agricultural plot, which is almost individual property, can be demarcated by its owner. We say almost individual ownership because the right to it may be sold. /But/ there is this fundamental principle with reference to immovable property:

/212 cont./

423 It is inalienable. That is, it cannot be sold or given to another
425 group or to a white, as the sale or gift would have no legal value. The only element that is marketable in the property is the right of usufruct. Thus with regard to land, ownership is established as follows: 1) Agricultural products are the sole individual property, with conditions of use and abuse. The individual may sell it, give it away, destroy it, etc. 2) Traditional agricultural land is also almost individual property because anyone may dispose of it within the circle of his immediate consanguineous relatives by willing it. What can be inherited, however, is not the land itself but the right to cultivate it. And this right is reduced to a limited number of families within the clan.

231 Another aspect which we should consider in the distribution
423 of clan land is that of the pasturing zones. Nomadic pasturing is the most important occupation in the economic life of La Guajira, but it is subject to the geographic conditions of the peninsula, and it is especially determined by the presence or absence of water, as this element is indispensable for making use of the territories /213/ available for pasture; in addition, the concept of wasteland is likewise ruled by lack of water. Water, furthermore, after the introduction of stock raising, which was initiated during the time of the Colony, caused the evolution of the concept of ownership in communal land. We shall see how.

We know that before the introduction of stock raising into La Guajira, land was distributed among the different clan groups, and that among them there existed communal use for hunting and collecting, activities that still subsist. It would appear that in that epoch the zones of greatest value were under the dominion of certain families who regularly enjoyed their usufruct. Dwellings under the special conditions of their economic activities were very mobile and improvised. On accepting stock raising as the chief activity in their economy, the Guajiro, forced by the physical and climatic conditions of the land, continued the nomadic life he was accustomed to, driving his herd at different seasons to the regions of best pasturage when this was scarce, and being guided

/213 cont./
231 in this by the availability of water. For these reasons dwellings
423 continued to be mobile and transitory, though not so improvised
as before, since some were built in regions that served as general
headquarters while they were absent with their herds.

In order to take full advantage of pasture in some regions
231 where water was scarce during the summer, the community would
312 dig wells and even build small dams to collect rain water which
423 could be made use of by all those who had co-operated in the
construction or by those who legally had access to them. Land
which the new well or dam brought into use could be used by all
those who had rights to it to water their livestock, a legal form
practiced to this day.

At the present time we find on the land of each clan a variable number of wells which generally have been made by communal labor; all members of the family group are permitted access to them. Based on this indispensable need for water the Indians have built more stable, secure, and comfortable housing around these watering places, which are to be found on the best grazing land without encroaching on agricultural land and avoiding causing harm to their neighbors' pasturage. In this way every clan member in any region has ample pasture land at his disposal situated /214/ near his dwelling, on which he can graze his livestock during normal times in the peninsula without having to drive them to other pasture with the change of seasons or interfering in the economic life of his close neighbors.

However, as La Guajira suffers from periods of drought
231 during prolonged summers which totally destroy all grass and
423 dries up the sources of water, the Guajiro is forced to migrate
361 from one place to another in search of food and drink for his herds.
In these movements he calls at the traditional clan lands situated
in different parts of the peninsula, to which he has legal access
by marriage rights; or, as a last resort, he va de remonta, that
is, he drives his herds to the pasture lands of the clan groups
living in the mountains where the winter arrives earlier than in the
other regions and consequently is ready for earlier grazing; hence
they can lend their aid to the men of the plains /llanura/ who

/214 cont./

231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal
when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen:
423 Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
425 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from
178 the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who
made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are
under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need.
Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to
deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with
whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would
otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

/215 cont./

423 Within the legal system regarding pasture land we must consider the aspect of the rights that each individual acquires to visit land other than those of his own clan as a result of newly contracted marriages and those that are legally ceded to him according to customary Guajiro law.

Referring to the last, we have seen that the herdsmen of the plains /*llanura*/ at the end of summer have the right to visit the grassy regions in the mountains where the pasture has recovered because of the earlier winter. This fact is to be found in the oral literature and is a theme of theatrical representation during the celebration of the Festival of the Kid, in which the appearance of the rains and the ripening of the harvests are celebrated.

The rights conceded by marriage alliances refer not only to pasturage but in general to all the ways of making full use of the land, including forest exploitation, collecting, and hunting. Thus the man who has married in conformity with the traditional rite of La Guajira has the right to establish his dwelling, cultivate the land, dig a well to supply himself with water, etc., on his wife's relatives' land because this is authorized in the payment he has made for his wife at the time of his marriage. This right is extended to the maternal relatives of the man because, as we have amply seen, all of these contribute their quota to the marriage. Reciprocally he /the husband/ has territorial rights on the landed property of each one of the wives of his maternal relatives. When boys of the new marriage grow up, they establish themselves, by custom, on their mother's land although they may also do so on that of the father. Once they contract marriage they go to live, like their father, on the land of the wife.

Another aspect that has to be considered because of its relation to the distribution of land is the application of sanctions for an infraction of the regimen for social stability. The clan wars which these infractions give rise to cause the Guajiro, fearful of being stripped of his property (Cf. Delicts of aggression), to spread his herds all over the peninsula on the land legally at his disposal with the end of defending them from a surprise attack.

/215 cont./

423 Some clan groups possess very widely dispersed land, which gives rise to the splitting up of the groups, causing them in time to lose /216/ cohesion to the point that members of the same name living traditionally in different districts end up by not identifying with each other in practice, in their legally ascribed rights and attributes.

The right of usufruct of the forest and sterile lands belongs by act and by law to every member of the clan, and those who are tied by matrimonial unions. The case can arise when dealing with the collecting of wild fruit or divi-divi that members of the clan oppose the latter's usufruct of their right, but this is comparatively rare, since in general the abundance of fruit does not give rise to disputes of this nature.

423 Furthermore, every Guajiro has the right of passage over
499 clan lands and to use it to connect some territories with others when the land of an outsider comes in between. When it is a matter, for example, of the opening of a road, the regional heads of each of the proprietary clans get together in order to reach an agreement on a plan that will satisfy the needs of all parties. With all of the men of the two clans interested, they construct a preliminary path to mark out its course, and then from either end they begin the final work, determining in advance the place where they will meet; that is, the point where the work of each should reach. Each group must pay for the labor force and feed its men until the work is finished. Such roads can be used by all the Guajiro.

Related to land and its distribution, as we have seen, are
423 the sources of water, which can be of two kinds, natural and artificial. To the first, every member of the proprietary clan of the land where it is situated, as well as those tied to the clan by marriage alliances, has access. To the second kind, the same may also have access or only those members of a specific family, according to the case; in other words, if the well has been made with the aid of all the members of the clan, then its usufruct is common, but if it has been built by one family alone it is reserved for its exclusive use.

/216 cont./

423 764 The cemetery is also very closely related to land rights because every individual hopes to die on his own land, that is, in the place where his elders live and his ancestors lived: on clan territory; and he also hopes to be buried in the communal cemetery. These wishes and hopes of every Guajiro are what elicit long journeys with corpses relatives who died on alien land to give them burial in the cemetery of their ancestors. For this each clan owns a cemetery in certain places of its territory where /217/ the bodies of the deceased members or their bones after the celebration of the ceremony of the second burial may be buried. But in recent times many families who have outstanding social and economic position in the social collectivity have constructed private cemeteries or mausoleums in the vicinity of their family lands for their exclusive use. /page 218 is blank/

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XV

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

428 178 In the present state of the Guajiro culture it is extremely difficult to make a basic study of the laws of inheritance because with the process of acculturation taking place in the community, there has been introduced a series of new practices which, combined with the primitive and traditional forms, make the present system a structure difficult to mark off and to subject to fixed norms. We will confine ourselves to giving a few indications of what constitutes what we might call the code of inheritance, but we must make clear that the information we give is by no means complete, and it is possible that certain statements made may have to be rectified later. In general, we can affirm that they constitute the law for that section of the Guajiro community with which we have been in contact. With this in mind we continue our study.

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428 Laws of inheritance in La Guajira are determined by marriage. It follows that if the traditional Guajiro union is complied with, the customary laws of inheritance will hold. Let us see how the system works in its different aspects.

In the first place, inheritance is determined by the law of uterine affiliation. Thus the child does not inherit from his father but from his mother. The goods that belong to the father pass at his death under the control of his maternal ascendants, if any, of his brothers and sisters and of his nephews /and nieces? sobrinos/, children of his sister. If it is the mother who has died, her goods pass into the hands of her children, her maternal ascendants, her brothers and sisters, and the latters' descendants. If a person -- man or woman -- should die before marrying, his goods go under the control of his mother, if she is still alive, to his brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ to descendants through the female line, to the maternal uncles /and aunts? tíos/, to the children of the mother's sisters, etc. We give below a number of cases of inheritable goods and the system involved.

a) The surname is inherited from the mother, as we have explained fully in previous chapters. /220/

b) On the death of an individual his debts and obligations are inherited by his relatives, who are categorically responsible for them and who try to satisfy them as rapidly as possible for three reasons: to maintain respect for the memory of their dead relative; to avoid possible slanderous talk from the creditors or any other members of the community; and to avoid any loss of prestige for the individual in particular and the clan group in general.

c) The wives of the deceased are transferred as a possession
428 to his heirs. Inheritance of the women generally falls to the
587 maternal brothers of the deceased, though by preference they should go to the youngest of these, particularly if he is still unmarried. To him they will give the youngest wives. This part of the inheritance may provoke conflicts between the brothers and nephews of the deceased, who also have a right to the wives. To illustrate this point we mention the following occurrence: An

/220 cont./

428 587 influential Guajiro of Upper La Guajira had contracted marriage with two women from each of the two clan groups of La Guajira. Becoming very ill and feeling his last hours approaching, it pained him that his illness did not permit him to buy a prepubescent girl he desired so that after his death his nephews would have a motive for quarreling; he was extremely sorry that he would not be able to be present at their squabbles.

The possession of women by inheritance has been gradually weakened, especially in cases where they would have young men as future owners, they being already mature. However, the social precept is maintained that if they wish to contract marriage, the man who wants them must give an agreed-upon sum to their new owner.

428 d) Bond servants, slaves, and their descendants pass under the control of the consanguineous relatives of the deceased in accordance with the special rules of inheritance. This human property passes under the new ownership under the same special conditions of low status under which they were living previously.

e) As regards land, we can say that usufruct of communal property is inherited as well as the right to usufruct of the family agricultural plot, following the uncle to maternal nephew succession in this case.

f) With respect to the dwelling we have the following situation: Every important family usually locates itself in a place of easy access with abundant water, or at least sufficient for their needs, and at the center of the regions of pasture land. The consanguineous members of these families usually form /221/ their new family cells around this primary nucleus. On the death of the owners the original house becomes the property of their descendants through the maternal line.

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428 431 A particular form of inheritance that we ought to consider in this study is that of gifts made while the owner is alive, gifts

/221 cont./

428 of livestock, jewelry, and personal objects, made by the mother
431 and uterine relatives on one hand and the father and his ascendants on the other.

As regards jewelry and personal objects, there are two things that move the native to make these gifts while alive: 1) Because these elements of material culture must be buried with the owner, and this custom prevents their distribution in the form of inheritance, so that their acquisition can only be accomplished by gifts made during /the owner's/ life. 2) Because the father and his ascendants do not consider themselves consanguineous relatives of the son, and for this reason he has no right to inherit from them. The payment that the man makes for his wife to her uterine relatives indemnifies her descendants for this exclusion from participation in his legacy. But nevertheless the culture allows and insists that jewelry and personal objects on the part of the maternal relatives and livestock on the part of the paternal relatives should be given to the children, and it establishes special opportunities for doing so, such as the following: when the young women emerge from their seclusion during the initiation ceremony; at the time of marriage in order to make up a suitable dowry for the young wife in accord with her status and that of her husband; also when a man is about to contract marriage, as we explained in the pertinent section; and, finally, when any one of the members of the group has violated the regimen for social stability and it is necessary to indemnify the offended party, when donations have to be provided by the relatives through the maternal line.

The gift of livestock on the part of the father and his relatives takes place on successive occasions. When the first-born arrives, he receives a gift from the paternal grandfather, who "has the obligation of giving him a horse, burro, cow, goat, sheep, and hen" (pairs of these animals for breeding). The father should give as much again on the birth of each succeeding child. And on successive occasions he gives each one of the children some animal as a reward or stimulus. When the boy comes of age,

/221 cont./

428 431 that is, when he gets married, his father must hand over to him all the animals that are his personal property. It is then that the largest of the gifts is given. /222/ If this is not given, the boy is always waiting for his father to give it on some other occasion, but should the father die before having given it, the paternal relatives will not concede it to the young man, even though this may be a cause of fighting between the two clan groups.

428 The payment in livestock which the wife receives from the husband for inconveniences suffered during her pregnancy and for each childbirth can also be considered as indirect participation in his goods.

We know that funeral customs establish that when a man dies livestock that is his property must be slaughtered and distributed among the friends who attend the wake at the time of the death and those who attend the second burial. In order to comply with this norm the Guajiro has established gifts of livestock from the maternal relatives, the same as the father does with his children. When a new family member is born, the maternal uncles, especially the one most looked up to by the mother, make a present of livestock to the child which constitute, with the gifts he receives from the paternal relatives, his initial patrimony. These goods keep on growing with successive calving and with the addition of the gifts he receives from his mother, his maternal grandmother, and from other relatives when he becomes capable of caring for them himself. Finally, on marrying for the first time (we must keep in mind that polygamy exists), all the animals destined for him are handed over.

The daughters receive the larger portion of livestock on getting married, especially when they belong to groups of high status and they have been bought at a high price to be consistent with this high value and to maintain the social and economic standing of their family.

428 178 It should be emphasized, finally, that at the present time the laws of inheritance, as we stated at the beginning, are no longer uniform, due to the steady process of acculturation in the

/222 cont./

428 178 Guajiro community. As a consequence, this phenomenon has brought about a series of struggles among family groups related by marriage ties, as the children now expect to inherit from their fathers, and they consider themselves to have more right to it than the maternal nephews /sobrinos maternos/ and the other obligatory traditional heirs. The situation of conflict has reached such extremes of malevolence and rancor that many times the maternal relatives of the deceased will not resist such claims but will relinquish their rights to the dead man's descendants. /223/

XVI

WORK

461 476 There are two forms of communal work, depending on the ends in view.

a) Communal work with the object of carrying out a job of general utility or utility to the clan.

b) Private work that benefits an individual and his immediate family.

In the first class we have the example of the construction of roads, dams, wells, cemeteries, etc. In La Guajira passage is free over all roads. Consequently, their construction benefits the social collectivity and, more particularly, those groups who wish to be connected by means of them. To open a new road, the beneficiaries most concerned get together with the aim of coming to an agreement on the plans, the preliminary location, and the distribution of the span of the work which will be handled by each group. The collaborators, on their part, redistribute the cost and execution. Thus one day one family supplies food and drink to all the workers; the following day another family, and so on successively until the work is finished.

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The male members of the clan group take part in carrying out the work, bringing their own tools and contributing to the supply of essential materials. They all give their co-operation in order to have the right to benefit by the work, secondarily, in order to be well fed at the time of the work, an aspect that attracts them.

In the construction of wells or dams they take into account the utility they will have and the neighborhood to be benefited, so that the /residents of the/ latter will give their co-operation both with labor and with economic aid, with the upkeep of the workmen, or empirical aid in the search for /potential sources of/ drinking water.

The system that is followed in this class of labor is very similar to the previous one /road construction/. The families who stand to benefit take turns in feeding the workers; all the men to benefit contribute with their labor, their tools, and the necessary materials. /224/

With respect to clan cemeteries, as these are of interest only to a restricted group, all of the same name, it is exclusively its members that take part in the construction, either actively or by paying for the upkeep of wage-earning peons.

The second type of communal work generally refers to the carrying out of work that benefits only one small family, but for which the assistance of others is sought since the family finds it impossible to accomplish the necessary work by itself alone. All give their co-operation willingly and as an obligation which authorizes reciprocity when aid is solicited /later by any of the participants/. While the work is in progress, the Guajiro who has asked for communal co-operation procures food for the participants in the best way possible and supplies abundant liquor, by which he hopes to pay for part of the services received. In this way they clear the ground of trees and bushes for sowing, build fences around crops, cultivate a plot of land, harvest the crops, and build dwellings. The Indian who needs the help of others to carry out personal work advises his friends and relatives beforehand

/*224* *cont.*/

476 of the date work will begin and asks for their co-operation.
Meanwhile at his house abundant food is prepared for the occasion
and drink in considerable quantity: *chicha* made from chewed
wild yucca or from corn. And each Indian who decides to lend a
hand brings the tools required for the job and arrives at sunrise.
At night he returns to his dwelling after working all day, generally
drunk from the great quantity of *chicha* or rum which he has drunk.
This cycle repeats itself daily during all the time necessary to
finish the work. The owner of the house, or one of the volunteers
of most experience, assumes direction of all the activities and
gives orders which are quickly carried out. We will take as an
476 example the case of the construction of a dwelling. For this,
342 necessary plant materials are located beforehand in the woods of
the clan property or in wasteland, and the services of an individual
824 acquainted with the method of housebuilding is also secured
beforehand and the work carried out under his direction. The according to the ability of each of the workers, tasks are distributed;
some prepare *yotojoro* (1), which is the roofing material; some
lay the roof while others cover the walls with the bark of the
trupillo /Mimosaceae family/, with grass stems, or with *bahareque*
/small sticks with canes and clay, sometimes also called *bareque*/,
according to the region or taste /of the owner/. In this way /*225*/
the work is finished in a short time. By the same procedure the
excavation of a well or the building of a dam for rain water is
carried out.

476 When it is a matter of preparing ground for sowing or any
other agricultural work, the activity is carried out in an identical
manner. Some go to give their services to a friend so that once
they have finished work on his agricultural land, the friend will
[624] immediately reciprocate by lending his assistance on their land.
The Guajiro keeps very much in mind the person who refuses to

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1. The woody part of the cactus called *cardón*.

/225 cont./
476 give his co-operation on occasions like these, so that later, if he
[626] asks for his help, he also refuses.

There is one type of communal activity carried out by the women; it is that connected with the work of chewing which they contribute in the preparation of chicha of wild yucca or of corn used at all their festivals or on the eve of male communal work. On such occasions the women's assistance is requested, and they all gather, very pleased with the work they have to do, by virtue of which once finished they receive rum or chicha as recompense, and can eat large quantities of yucca and corn cakes on the sly while they are doing their job. The two types of communal work are substantially different. The first benefits all the community or at least a clan group, while the second affects only one individual and his immediate relatives. The participation of the individual and of the family in true community work acquires in some cases the character of an obligation inherent in the position of a member of a given clan group. In others his co-operation depends on the benefit he is likely to derive from it: the use of a cemetery, wells for water supply, etc.

In the second type, on the contrary, the individual participant derives no benefit from the work in itself, but from the reciprocal co-operation that the beneficiary on that occasion must give to each of those who have helped him. To refuse to participate is
[631] an infraction of a norm that may isolate the man from society.
[626] What is accomplished by the co-operative work of various groups acquires for this reason a communal character in its utilization. In the second case it is individual or family private property.

For the first, the Guajiro gives his aid in labor, the loan of tools, the maintenance of laborers, the handing over of part of the construction materials, etc. For the second, he gives nothing more than his labor and the use of his tools because the maintenance of the men is the direct concern of the party benefited.

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Domestic work. The division of activities by sex is one of
462 the primary classifications that can be made in La Guajira in

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relation to domestic work. We have to bear in mind that this tra- 462
ditional separation is strictly complied with, because anyone doing
[558] the customary work of the opposite sex loses personal value. And
in order not to be seen as an object of ridicule to others, Guajiro
men and women try to avoid carrying out any function identified
with the opposite sex, even as a diversion, as in the case of children, who may not play games of make-believe other than those
ascribed to their sex.

All work related to the care and nomadic pasturing of various classes of livestock is traditionally masculine work. Each Guajiro who owns livestock or who has them en cuido /lit., "in his care"/ (an exchange which means he has a herd from another Indian in order to pasture it in exchange for which he receives payment) gets up at daybreak with his nephews or sons and drives the livestock in search of pasture. During the day he guards them closely to prevent them from being stolen by men or harmed by carnivorous animals. At nightfall he waters the herd at the wells /casimbas or jagüeyes/ and then shuts them in the corrals of the house, after checking that all are there. Combined with these activities there are, for example, the treatment of sick animals, their branding, helping the shaman who treats by magic animals attacked by pests, breaking in the young colts for pack or saddle horses, making all necessary harness from saddles to reins and straps with their diverse variations and, finally, the slaughter of animals with the exception of domestic poultry.

Another traditional male activity is hunting. From childhood the Guajiro practice hunting small birds and animals, which is also a preparatory exercise for war, an employment which requires mastery in the use of firearms. Neither women nor children are allowed to participate in hunting expeditions.

Connected with the activity of hunting are fabrication of weapons, which comprises making bows and arrows, head guards, and various magic charms to make the hunt easy and productive; making and placing traps used to protect the sown fields from harmful animals or as a means of collecting edible animals.

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462 Fishing, an activity of relative unimportance in Guajiro
economic life, is also done by the men. It is limited to obtain-
[226] ing certain edible species or to gathering oysters for the pearl
trade, and, as in hunting, it is the men who manufacture the
necessary equipment and implements.

Agricultural work is divided between the two sexes. The man is responsible for the preparation of the land for sowing: cutting, clearing and burning, and the tasks of weeding and hilling. Although planting is women's work, certain vegetables have to be planted by men because according to their magic beliefs if these plants are sown by women they will never give a good crop either in quantity or quality; such plants are, for example, fruit trees and creeping plants such as the water melon, melon, calabashes, etc. It is also men's work to fence in their plots of land.

The migration of many males to Venezuela and to other regions bordering on the peninsula, due to the climatic conditions already mentioned, has made it permissible for the women to take part in agricultural tasks normally considered suitable only for men.

The Guajiro man is the one who builds the dwelling. He obtains the help he needs in the form of communal labor, and with this aid he transports the materials and builds his house without any aid from his wife.

In leisure moments or during the hottest hours of the day,
462 while resting on hammocks, young Guajiro men apply themselves
52 to carving rings, beads for necklaces or bracelets, and amulets
or small figures to hang round the neck or wrist, which yield a
small income; to make these he uses broom handles, small
plastic combs, ram and goat horns, coconut shells and coral.
During these moments or whenever the opportunity arises, he
also makes toe pieces for his sandals, using a small loom. This
[439] occupation has an economic end in the towns where such articles
find a ready sale.

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462 The Guajiro boy has the job of carving the gourd vessels used as domestic utensils, and it is also the men who make the hats and headpieces, or kiára, which pure Indians still use as an adornment in their festivals.

As war is essentially a masculine occupation, men make the weapons used, arrows and poisons, even those of magic value.

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The heads of each family, and in their absence the sons in chronological order, or the nephews, sons of a sister, are those in charge of directing and ordering the daily work, especially when free or communal labor is not available and paid labor is used.

We may also consider as masculine occupations in La Guajira participation in community work and in mutual help such as making wells, dams, cemeteries, roads, etc.

The woman, on her part, has in her charge a multiplicity of activities, among which we can enumerate the following as the principal ones:

462 286 Weaving. This activity includes spinning, dyeing, and weaving the cloth itself. At the present time this occupation is dying out, particularly spinning, because the ease of obtaining imported thread makes this laborious work almost unnecessary. With respect to the weaving itself, foreign-made cloth and the trade in Colombian cloth supply the natives, especially the women, with dresses of varioud colors and diverse quality, which has caused a decline in this feminine activity, at least with regard to the use of homemade material for apparel. But, on the other hand, the acquisition of new techniques and the improvement of autochthonous ones in the Capuchin mission school has brought about greater development in the weaving of hammocks and bags, which, going beyond domestic needs, bring a good price in the markets outside and even within the peninsula, and in this way constitutes an appreciable source of income for the women. In addition to this, certain items of clothing such as the Guajiro belt, traditionally worn by the men and woven at

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462 286 home, have not found a substitute and have to be made by the maternal relatives or by the wife.

Among the items that have survived we should include the blouses used by girls of prepubertal age.

The application of weaving by the women extends to the manufacture of some parts of the harness for horses, such as cinches, surcingles, saddle blankets, croup belts, etc., in the making of which they employ diverse techniques and both autochthonous methods and those introduced through acculturation.

492 554 While the manufacture of saddles, trappings, and accoutrements of horses is done by the men, the women make the adornments for them and the headstalls of the halters and blinkers, with the complicated system of knots and tassels which indicate the standing and wealth of the rider. /229/

Finally, it is strictly the women's task to make all the utensils used in weaving, from the most elementary type of loom made with two vertical sticks and used for making the classical Indian hammock /chinchorro/, to the most complicated, such as those used for weaving double-faced hammocks; and from the wooden bobbins to the vegetable colors and mordants used in dyeing the fabric or the thread.

462 Domestic work is also women's work, and it includes obtaining and preparing food and drink, and serving, storing, and preserving it, as well as killing small mammals and domestic birds, and cleaning and seasoning the intestines and other offal of cattle, sheep, and goats.

296 Within the Guajiro dwelling the woman maintains cleanliness and order, and she is also held responsible for making, repairing, and washing the articles of clothing of her husband, her children, and herself.

The care of minor children occupies much of the Guajiro woman's time (Cf. Chap. II) as does their training, and it is exclusively the women's function to look after and instruct the girls during the traditional seclusion at puberty. Also, it is their responsibility to teach feminine tasks to their young female consanguineous relatives.

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462 The woman usually takes charge of the care of all sick persons in the home whether they are being submitted to treatment by the shaman or are just simple cases. She remains by their side and gives them all necessary attention.

The Guajiro woman should carry out two general functions in her home, functions that acquire more or less importance according to the standing she has. One of them is to see that all the chores and work of the home are adequately done; she must carry out these personally or be assisted in them by her daughters or other consanguineous female relatives with whom she lives, or be assisted by female servants, bond servants, or slaves. In the first case, the activities are distributed by mutual agreement; and in the second, she must take charge of the ordering, the overseeing, and the direction of all work and of the personannel who assist her.

462 574 The second of these functions is that of fully satisfying the traditional norms of courtesy and hospitality; attentions that must be shown by giving lodging and meals, etc., to every visitor who comes to the Guajiro home,* because the visitor is a guest, because considerations of friendship or blood tie him to his host, and because of reciprocity for similar hospitality received previously, which for the sake of prestige, /230/ the host must repay in equal or in greater measure. In all these tasks the woman can count on the aid of her consanguineous relatives and on the female staff she has under her orders. Furthermore, every wife personally carries out for her husband or a male relative certain gestures of hospitality and care (when he is a head), which their culture requires from each of them and which not only cannot be delegated but have an obligatory character within the conjugal life.

462 Normally, the man, head of the house, directs the family activities that must be accomplished each day in the different branches of work. He does this personally or with the aid of his relatives or staff. When the head of the house and his sons are absent from home, it is up to the wife to direct the activities that are usually in the hands of the husband, or to carry them out in the same way as the sons would.

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462 We find that some of the feminine activities are carried out jointly with the man, as in agriculture in which the woman's part is to place the seed in a hole, which is made by the man with a sower's tool for this purpose (but not in the case of planting creeping plants and fruit trees); and to collect fruit when it is all ripe, or little by little as the fruit becomes ready. Besides [262 222] these regular activities, the women collect wild edible fruits which constitute practically the only source of nourishment during the summer in some regions. They also collect some forest products that the whites buy from them, such as the divi-divi, which constitutes a source of money income.

Transportation is an activity that traditionally has been done by the Guajiro woman. Before they raised pack animals, the [492] women did such work themselves. Nowadays, it can be said that it is rare to find a home that does not have an animal, generally a burro, at their disposal, on which they can transport from place to place their small children and the provisions and utensils, etc., which they require. Nevertheless, we do still see some families who lack this means of transport and have to make use of feminine labor.

Ceramics also is an activity that is assigned to women. In the regions where raw materials are abundant and of good quality, the women of some families apply themselves to this craft, in which they reach quite a high standard of perfection; the technique is transmitted from generation to generation so that the craft becomes a traditional family occupation.

When the families of potters are forced to emigrate to urban centers, they carry there the raw material /231/ required for their work from its original source. With this they provide the family with domestic utensils and use the rest for barter with others.

The empirical knowledge of the magic and curative properties of plants is known, apart from the shaman, by some women who usually live in places where contact with whites is less frequent. They transmit such knowledge to their descendants, most frequently to the eldest daughter.

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462 The care of women at the time of childbirth has also been culturally assigned to women (Cf. Marriage). However, in certain cases the husband may be present at the birth to give secondary assistance, but only at the request of the expectant mother and the midwife.

When recently born infants develop illnesses of gastro-intestinal types, it is a custom in La Guajira to obtain the services of a woman, who attempts to deduce the magic cause of the illness from different characteristics of the /child's/ excrements.

Tattooing, generally used to mark the different clans, and other kinds of markings, in some cases initials or names, are carried out by Guajiro women.

462 472 Remunerative work. This form of work, a consequence of the process of acculturation, is developing, especially in urban zones and their environs; it has not, however, broken the traditional distribution of labor by sex but has become subordinate to it, so that the men work for wages in activities appropriate to their sex and women do the same.

472 Among the remunerative occupations in which the Guajiro man is employed we can point out the following:

463 a) Pearl fishing, in the zones in which oysters are very abundant such as in the ports of Cardón, Ahuyama, and Carrizal. The native either fishes on his own account and sells the pearls on the open market, or he works for a wage under orders given by a white or a mestizo who hires him as diver. He also participates in small shellfishing for cockles and other species in the northern coastal zone, although sporadically, with the idea of selling his catch on his own account, or as a paid assistant of the whites who are in this business for profit. /232/

b) As a day laborer. At some ports where the loading and unloading ships is of some importance, as happens in Puerto Estrella and in Ríohacha, it is the native, who, provided with a boat of his own or one belonging to a merchant, contracts to transport cargo from the ships to land and vice versa. He collaborates especially in the commercial moving of contraband which forms the base of the economic life of these ports.

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472 463 c) Mechanic. The Guajiro has a special capacity for learning manual and mechanical work. As a result he rapidly becomes skilled as hauler and even as chauffeur on the roads that cross the peninsula, in the neighboring republic of Venezuela, and in the zone of banana plantations. This activity is very popular among the natives.

d) As an agricultural peon. Another part of the Guajiro labor force finds work in agricultural activities, although agricultural tasks in themselves are not particularly attractive to the native. However, they take up this kind of work more frequently around Ríohacha, toward the zone of the so-called "Province" (department of Magdalena), and in Venezuela.

Within the peninsula the Guajiro carries out these activities for mutual assistance and only on rare occasions for payment of wages on the haciendas of rich mestizo or native families. In stock raising there is a special form of remunerative activity for the poor Guajiro who looks after the herds of more well-to-do owners. This form consists of the animals (carefully counted) being handed over to the herdsman to be pastured in exchange for the use of the products from the livestock, milk, hides, and meat of those that die -- some are raised and, sporadically a little corn, cloth for a robe, etc. As we see, it offers a special form of remuneration.

e) As paid laborer. The native works in the saltworks of the Bank of the Republic established on the north coast of La Guajira. Following the traditional division of labor by sex, the men pick and shovel the lumps of salt from the deposits and leave the rest of the work to the women. They do not receive a daily fixed wage but a sum in accordance with the amount done during the day. They also work on a daily paid basis either for a private concern or for one of the various branches of government, working /233/ in trades such as that of bricklayer, salesman, laborer in the making of bricks, burning of lime and charcoal, carting of material, excavation of wells in the Water Supply section, or messenger or servant in the houses of the families of civilizados /nonnatives/ in the urban centers.

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472 f) As a hobby. During the hottest hours of the day or during his spare time, he makes at home small objects that can be sold 463 to his fellow Indians or to whites, such as tools, harness, figures of coconut shell and of plastic material, necklaces, bags, sandals, weapons, hats, etc.

Along with the profession of shaman in which both sexes participate, and that of diviner, we find the occupation of arbitrator, which demands the personal qualities already enumerated in the pertinent chapter and which gives to the individual who exercises it not only prestige among his relatives and compatriots but also the right to remuneration.

Another trade that has become remunerative is that of harness and saddle making. Although some women compete successfully in the manufacture, the culture considers them intruders, because this is an activity recognized traditionally as belonging to the masculine sex.

441 As a product of acculturation through whites and facilitated 178 by civilization and the closeness of Venezuela as well as by the decline in traditional economic activities, commercial activity has developed among the Guajiro. It is not so much the pure native as it is the mestizo of some economic means who devotes himself to this /commerce/; the fact should be noted that women, under equal conditions, participate actively in the exploitation of this economic source. They go to Aruba and Curaçao and obtain cheap merchandise on credit, which they bring in by smuggling to sell in Colombia, following the route to Riohacha or Valledupar or continuing on the route to Venezuela. Some do not work directly as owners of the goods but as carriers across the peninsula to deliver them at their destination.

Women find remunerative work especially in domestic service, 472 such caring for children, preparing food, carrying water and 463 firewood, cleaning, etc. They also work in the capacity of maids with the obligation of living in the home where they work. The Guajiro woman does not willingly work under these latter conditions as she prefers the free life of her own home, although food

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472 there may be scarce; living in her employer's home, while it may
463 satisfy her basic needs, imposes on her a discipline to which she is not accustomed. For this reason, she looks for a way to combine both systems and sells firewood and water in the urban centers, carries messages, washes clothes, clears away rubbish, sells coal, /234/ milk, and foodstuffs, or cooks at some house. But in the evening she returns to her home, /usually/ an enramada /a shelter of branches/ on the outskirts of the city.

Toward the north coast of the peninsula, in the wooded lands of this zone, divi-divi occurs in sufficient quantity to enable the Guajiro woman to collect and sell it to the whites, who send it to the interior.

The women also take part in the work in the saltworks, as we have seen, in order to assist their husbands in the transport of the material.

The women of Jarara have been the principal makers of pottery, since they have abundant raw material at their disposal, which is lacking in other regions. For this reason, at the present time, they try to supply the entire peninsula by making a considerable supply with which they travel through the country and obtain an adequate remuneration either by barter or by sale.

Weaving of cloth, as we have said, supplies the women with
286 a source of income. Some well-to-do Indian and mestizo women
463 have organized a /specialized/ division of labor to supply the
472 demand for hammocks and bags in the markets of Maracaibo and in some towns in the department of Magdalena.

These women, well informed about the state of the market, prepare in their homes hammocks of fashionable colors and regulation size. They hand over a design of their own or one copied from a magazine to a poor Guajiro woman who takes it to her house and works it up on her own loom during her spare time. Once the central part is woven the owner hands it on to a worker expert in finishing, then a third one with her spinning tackle makes the cords. While these portions are being made in sequence, the fringes to match the color of the central part have been made by

/234 cont./

472 one or more other women, who if required will complete the
463 work by making the tassels that adorn it. Each one of these
women workers is controlled by the owner, of the raw material
226 from whom they receive it. They do it in their respective homes. The completed work is paid for in accordance with the skill and quality /of its execution/ and not by the time spent on it. The finished product is the property of the owner of the raw material, who can sell it at her convenience. The tools and equipment employed belong to the workers. Another common practice is for some poor women to weave the cloth on their own account, and later to sell it to a rich woman who has facilities for bringing the product to the market. The cloth is always sold at a lower price to give the intermediary a margin of profit. /235/

A third form consists of receiving orders and weaving personally, or using weavers who receive wages and who work at home, hammocks, bags, and items of harness previously ordered by the merchants.

An occupation that allows the Guajiro woman to obtain some
472 income is dressmaking. Guajiro women learn to sew the robes
463 for both masculine and feminine use, and other articles of apparel, which they sew not only for their home needs and their relatives but also to fill orders from customers.

In the Sierra de Jarara and the Sierra de Macuira and in other places distant from urban centers, some old women live who are acquainted with the magic and curative properties of various plants. This knowledge is usually transmitted from mother to eldest daughter and is much sought after and remunerated in proportion to the importance of the case, its efficacy, and the prestige of the herbal expert who prescribes it, and the importance of the person who requests it.

Another profession is that of midwife, who receives payment in relation to her ability and the means of whoever applies for her services.

Unfree work. This is done by bond-servant or slave labor. See chapter /VIII/ Slavery and Bond Service. /page 236 is blank/

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CONCLUSIONS

I

179 Guajiro culture and society can no longer be considered to be homogeneous bodies. Each of them has been subjected to the influence of contact with other civilizations which are distinct from their own both in manifestation and in human constituents and which have left the mark of their wake in the transformation of institutions as well as individuals. This process, which we may suppose started before the Conquest through relations with other neighboring native groups in the adjacent department of Magdalena and in the bordering republic of Venezuela, was accelerated after the area was colonized and its rhythm has been increasing, in a progression we might call geometric -- with the advance and the development of the republic of Colombia, especially in the latter period of its history when migratory currents have made themselves felt with greater intensity over the length and breadth of its territory for reasons we will not mention here as they are outside the scope of this work.

177 563 In any case, racial and cultural mixing /mestizaje/ is one of the most important factors in the study of La Guajira. As one has been able to note in the contents of this study, its institutions and primary cultural patterns -- the traditional ones being understood by this -- are in part conditioned by the new cultural forms adopted through the impact of different groups which have penetrated peacefully or violently into their innermost lives. First, the Spanish conquerors; then the European merchants who took advantage of the pearl trade of the Guajiro Indians; later the colonists, also Spaniards, who established their haciendas in regions in close contact with the peninsula; and last, the mestizo groups, generally negroid, from the Colombian and Venezuelan coasts, who have most directly influenced the social and cultural changes in the Guajiro by reason of their having at their disposal an excellent network of communication by air, land, and sea

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177 563 which furrows all the territory inhabited by the Indians, from the towns of the department of Magdalena to the dominant /238/ urban center of the region, Maracaibo, in the neighboring republic of Venezuela.

177 To these factors, which we might call unconscious or involuntary, must be added others that are not so, such as the missionary influence and that of the schools for natives, which, although very few up to the present in comparison with the number of inhabitants in the peninsula, have definitely impressed cultural norms of a civilization quite distinct from autochthonous ones, especially with regard to religion. For, as noted by my husband in his work, *Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira*, published in the previous number of this review, magic -- although it influences and determines many of the cultural patterns of the natives and their reactions and ways of thinking -- has been losing ground day by day as the new ideas of the Catholic religion are inculcated in the individual; and its most genuine representative, the shaman, or medicine man, has to a great extent lost his value as spiritual director of the community and is reduced today to the status of a simple curer /curandero/ who sees himself facing an unequal struggle with the medical doctors who arrive in the peninsula, to the point that "if the medical and hygienic services of La Guajira were intensified by the Colombian government, in the course of a few years the shaman would disappear as an institution in the peninsula, and the greater part of the aborigines' magic beliefs, especially with respect to sickness and death, would disappear from the collectivity and would remain only as folkloristic manifestations which recall his presence in times past."

Furthermore, these two factors have determined appreciable changes in another of the strongest Indian institutions: marriage. As the reader will have noted, the chapter which we dedicated to this social aspect is probably the most extensive of the study we have just presented, a fact due not to a greater collection of notes on this subject but to its relative importance within the aggregate of cultural institutions. From it is directly derived the concept of

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177 family, of status, education, etc., and with it are related phenomena as outstanding as the clan. A great portion of customary law applies to married life. The breakdown of traditional marriage has brought as a consequence, as we have affirmed in the pertinent sections, the decline of the institutions that are linked directly or indirectly with it. The greatest changes suffered by Guajiro culture are due to transformations of marriage traditional forms brought about by acculturation in recent times. /239/

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II

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191 But the action of acculturation has not been completely unilateral; that is, it is not only the Guajiro who has felt the influence of mestizo groups, but in his turn he has imposed some of his cultural patterns on them, which, as is logical, are hinged to the three most characteristic aspects of his culture: marriage, magic, and language. For it is certain that foreigners -- understanding by this term those who are not Guajiro -- who enter their country find themselves obliged to learn the Guajiro language in order to carry on business transactions and even to enjoy friendly relations with the natives; otherwise they will likely fail in their intent because, although the native as a general rule is acquainted with the Spanish language and handles it relatively well, he nevertheless refuses to make frequent use of it. It can be observed in the business center of Uribia, the capital of the commissary, that the business establishments most patronized by the Indian are those whose owners use Guajiro for their conversation and business. And the so-called "caciques," who in general terms are no other than Guajiro mestizos or foreigners who have acquired a strong economic position in the country, do not reach their degree of prestige until they completely master the language with its conventional turn of sentences for solemn occasions and the proper use of convincing words, as we stated in the pertinent chapter.

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177 582 We also saw in the section referring to marriage that the individual who goes to La Guajira and seeks to marry has two ways of doing so: by following the traditional norm of La Guajira, that is, buying the woman in accordance with the conventional payment and in agreement with the girl's parents and submiting to all the regulations in force regarding marriage, or marrying in the Catholic church, in this case causing the woman to break away from all the norms of her culture and from her society to the point of her being no longer considered a member of the same and in consequence finding herself excluded from all the guarantees that this same society can offer her in any case of difficulty or conflict with her husband or with other groups distinct from her own clan group. Although many make use of this second form of marriage, the majority do marry by the Guajiro ritual, although they may introduce certain changes and frequently do not comply with all the laws and obligations which form part of the primary institution of traditional Guajiro marriage.

177 As most of the inhabitants of the Colombian and Venezuelan coast are negroid, as we have just stated, and for this reason /240/ have a past of considerably superstitious and magic traditions, it is logical that they are readily influenced by the beliefs which dominate the Guajiro mentality. It is for this reason that these people are so eager to buy different kinds of magic charms and so strict in the observance of set norms of conduct related to the totality of Guajiro magic practices.

III

Culture, therefore, has suffered appreciable changes which have considerably altered the traditional conformation. But this change has not taken place in isolation. It has developed in unison with a transformation of society as a whole, which is also outstanding. The mixing /mestizaje/ of

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177 the races, as well as of cultures started in the colonial period, according to the records of the chroniclers of those times, not only with the whites who penetrated the territory on expeditions of conquest or trade but also with the Negroes whom the natives had taken as slaves in exchange for pearls each time that the slave ships dropped anchor off their coast. This mixing continued sporadically, giving the characteristics of indomitable ferocity of La Guajira throughout the colonial period, and has accelerated as has cultural contact during recent years for reasons already noted.

144 177 563 This does not mean, naturally, that the racial composition of the La Guajira Peninsula is exclusively mestizo -- a mixture of Indians with whites, mestizos, Negroes, or mulattos -- because the greatest percentage of inhabitants is still pure Indian, especially so in the districts where they have had less contact with the civilized world, as happens in the Sierra de Jarara, for whose inhabitants there is a term very common in the whole territory, cerreros, that is, pure Indians in the widest sense of the word: Indians who preserve not only their physical characteristics but their unalterable psychic and cultural traits.

This crossing, as has happened in all the cases which we have been able to observe in societies dominated by other cultures, *has been effected by the combination of the feminine* element in the dominated race and the masculine element on the dominating side. The cases where the opposite has occurred are very rare. It may be added that this appears to be a general law, at least among the South American communities which had to submit to the invasion of Europeans, brought about in various ways and according to the period of penetration. /241/

177 563 Guajiro traditional institutions were so strong that the changes in social composition did not at first essentially affect their cultural patterns. The newcomers adapted themselves perfectly to the norms of native life and made common cause with them, only differing in their physical type resulting from crossbreeding /mestizaje/ and possibly some cultural manifestations

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177 93 imposed by the father, if he stayed in the peninsula. Even today, many of the mestizos of La Guajira follow the Indian way of life, accepting their norms and being subject to their laws, and approving and participating in all outstanding times of life. One may often observe in them the appearance of a civilizado, that is, of an outsider to the Guajiro culture, by their external appearance and by certain forms of their conduct; but when one gets closer to them or sees them in their drunken moments, all their native ancestry comes to the fore and the mestizo, who had appeared to be a "white," becomes completely Indian.

IV

177 But the process of acculturation brings about, in the individuals, as it does in the case of culture and society, definite new forms, which slowly go adjusting their ways of feeling and thinking, which condition their reactions to new patterns, the fruit of mixture of the traditional and the foreign. It could not be otherwise, given the interaction existing among these three component elements of the group: culture, society, and the individual. For this same reason, the personality of the Guajiro is very difficult to explain today given on the peninsula, as we have just seen, that persons and even entire groups who preserve intact their original cultural birthright live together with individuals and groups who have adapted their system of life to a new method, the product of the mixture of several cultures. But the process is in action and one can safely presume the ultimate unification of all the individuals under the new patterns.

The forms of reaction of the individual, as we have noted in the early chapters of this study, which correspond to what is the life cycle of the individual in La Guajira, have become transformed. Their response to different situations has changed, and their systems of compulsion related to these situations have suffered variations in practice, which it is natural to expect. The /242/ very mutals of the native have weakened from their

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177 original form because the concepts of marriage, family, and social organization in general have been partially transformed by external intrusions. It is clear that the climatic changes of recent years, with their disastrous consequences, have contributed in an appreciable manner to these changes, among which should be counted emigration and prostitution. But the fundamental cause of change in Guajiro cultural structure has been conditioned by acculturation.

It is almost impossible for a primitive community placed in contact with pockets of modern civilization which surround and encircle them more and more to remain unaltered in their ways of life. It is logical that it will have to accept new techniques, more modern economic systems, ideas more in accord with new times, and for such reasons be forced to change the legendary institutions, if not consciously then unconsciously, slowly in some cases or violently in others. This is the case in La Guajira. Systems of violent interaction could not break the Guajiro spirit. The natives knew how to preserve their independence in the face of the continuous assaults by the Spaniards and in spite of the peaceful penetration of settlers, but to do this they had to adopt new methods copied from their enemies: They were forced to use firearms and horses for war, two vital elements in their independence; to change their war tactics and break down their traditional isolation and the proverbial independence of the various clans that compose their society and to unite in the struggle against the white invaders who envied them their pearls and dreamed of adding another people to the chain that they had made subject to the Spanish crown. From then on, Guajiro culture felt foreign influences which finally annihilated it and incorporated it into the Colombian nation.

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V

177 It would seem that when acculturation was less, the status ascribed to the individual was founded on his membership in a clan. If this clan was economically strong with numerous male members, the individual occupied a well-established position, that is, there was a clan stratification which conferred on its members by fact a corresponding social position. Within each one of these consanguineous units there was a second stratification according to which its members were graded, usually with reference to their personal wealth and their particular /243/ physical, psychic, and cultural conditions and qualities -- shaman, cacique, etc. A third scale was within the family itself and referred to the special position of each one of its components within the family circle. The head of each one of these social units occupied the predominant place -- the maternal uncle most important -- and the grading went in descending order down to the sharɛ, or younger child.

But at the present time the dispersion of the clan, due to acculturation which grows greater every day, has caused less importance to be given to the initial stratification, because within the peninsular territory the same clan now occupies different positions or statuses in accordance with the region in which it moves and with the members composing these groups separated from the original consanguineous unit. Contributing further to this is the fact that territorial property which previously was absolutely communal has gradually become individualized and converted into the privilege of a limited number of families of those that comprise the clan collectivity. The consequence of these phenomena of acculturation is that it is no longer the clan that determines the ascribed status of the individual in the first instance, but this is given, first of all, for his personal psychic, physical, and cultural conditions and for the restricted family unit to which he belongs.

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177 In other words, in previous times status was recognized as a function of the clan and for the clan, while at the present time status has a more universal value as it is related to all the social conglomerate, since, as we have said, the clans have been splitting up and losing their original cohesion due to the phenomena of acculturation. Nevertheless, even in those times there were certain individual statuses that transcended the narrow limits of the clan and invaded the community as a whole. Such, for example, was the case of the piache, or medicine man, who occupied a superior position within the general stratification in relation to the rest because his function as the intermediary between two worlds, the real and that of the spirits, benevolent and malevolent, conferred on him the position of a true spiritual director, not for the reduced group within which his totemic, consanguineous relatives moved, but for the entire community, for every person who required his services, for every family that needed his help, all, of course, within the limitations which interclan relations imposed, particularly when the regimen for social stability had been violated and the clan groups affected were in a situation verging on war. On the level *immediately below was the arbitrator, /244/ or palabra /literally,* "word" in Spanish/, wrongly called "cacique" on occasion, whose prestige by reason of his office as intermediary between different groups having a quarrel about a violation of the regimen for social stability also went beyond the limits of his own clan and extended far beyond the borders of his consanguineous limits, because the economically and numerically weak clan groups made a practice of seeking the services of an arbitrator belonging to a high group to represent them in their conflicts.

These two statuses were, and still are, determined by different causes: The first, or that of the medicine man, was, as shown by my husband in the study previously quoted, involuntary, so to speak, as it was the spirits of departed shamans who in a moment of exaltation or of illumination conferred on him this power, which was later ratified by a committee of shamans and diviners. The second, on the other hand, depends above

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177 all on very well-defined personal qualities, such as command of the language, possession of wealth, etc.

Within the evolutionary process occuring in Guajiro institutions, these categories are beginning to be inverted so that at the present time the position of political head, or arbitrator, is probably more important than that of shaman. The "cacique" is today a type more universal, more consulted, and more respected. The shaman's power is obviously declining, and he is ceding his position to foreigners.

Following the descending scale of positions, we come to the herder, whose function which has come about as the result of a new concept of wealth: stock raising. We have repeatedly remarked in this study on the essential value of nomadic stock raising in the economic life of the peninsula, which has created a new outlook in La Guajira, where wealth is always interpreted in terms of the number of cattle that an individual is able to own. For this reason, he who is outstanding in this activity is the one who does it successfully, who possesses the greatest head of cattle and controls land of personal or communal ownership suitable for grazing, that is, with good pasture, early rains, and wells giving a constant supply of water.

Also included within the scope of economic life and as an effect of acculturation we find the functions of trader and public employee. The trader, usually a mestizo, is associated with the movement of contraband merchandise throughout the peninsula, with agricultural products being sent to Venezuela from the department of Magdalena, or with foreign manufactured goods introduced from the islands of Aruba and Curaçao. His intervention is due to the perfect knowledge that /245/ he has of the country on one hand, and, on the other, to his being on many occasions driver or owner of vehicles which he places in the service of smugglers, as partner or for payment. At times he smuggles on his own account, buying contraband merchandise which he moves to Venezuela, sells in La Guajira, or transports to the interior of Colombia, following the route through the department of Magdalena.

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177 Working as a government employee also confers prestige and furthermore constitutes a sure income within the economic ups and downs of stock raising conditions existent in La Guajira. These administrative posts are in the main given to individuals who already have great prestige in the zone administered, with the object in view of facilitating administrative and, on occasion, legal work in the commissary government.

The status of hunter was without doubt the most important when this activity was one of the sources of economic life in the peninsula. Today it is reduced to a secondary place, but it is still maintained in the person of the chief of hunting expeditions, who is the one best acquainted with the topography and the most likely haunts of game, who knows the feeding habits of animals, the paths which they take, and, from the smallest detail, can deduce what kind of game is near, its size, etc., since one of his essential qualities is that of being a skillful tracker. Furthermore, he is in possession of weapons adequate for each type of animal, weapons which he has made himself and magic charms for each species to ensure safety and success in hunting. It is also necessary that he be perfectly familiar with the tactics of hunting so as to be able to place to the best advantage the different participants in the expedition; he should sacrifice his personal interest in favor of the others so that his companions will recognize his generosity when distributing the catch.

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596 When we consider the individual in the family unit, we also find a gradation of status in direct proportion to the importance and position of each member of the family in the home. At the very head we find the eldest maternal uncle, whose responsibilities for the economic-social backing of the family, especially in relation to nephews, his sister's sons, are very important, as we have noted throughout this study. He is the

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177 head of the family and his decisions are accepted because he 596 assumes absolute responsibility for the family. Hence the absolute obligation of consanguineous relatives dependent on him to respect /246/ his wishes and give way to his decisions. In the Guajiro family organization, in which descent is matrilineal, the father is simply a biological element without social or family ties with his children. This is what occurs in the traditional family system, but at the present time the status of the maternal uncle and the father are in conflict, and the latter tends to replace the former in the family group, due to the change in the concept of kinship which is upsetting the legendary canons of matrilinear descent. Thus the status of the father is gradually rising, affecting the relations between nephews and sons, for, if previously the nephews, sons of a sister, were those who attracted the men's attention, now it is the sons who are gradually taking this place to the extent that, as we mentioned in the chapter entitled Inheritance, veritable clashes arise between one and the other after a man's death with respect to sharing in the goods of the deceased. Male children, in view of this new concept of kinship between father and son which has arisen, particularly through the new form of marriage brought about by acculturation, believe themselves to have inalienable rights to their father's possessions at his death to the exclusion of the maternal nephews, who should submit to the same rule and expect their inheritance not from their uncles but from their own fathers. Furthermore, son and father, in accordance with the system of uterine descent could become, and actually did become, enemies when the paternal and the maternal clans went to war with each other, but now the son fights at the side of his father in the majority of cases and is, in turn, represented by his father in rites of passage.

177 Again, the question of marriage presents itself as one of the most important, if not the most important, in Guajiro social organization. Any upheaval that occurs in this has its repercussions on all other traditional institutions, which do not

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177 resist the pressure exercised on the latter. Changes in the idea of marriage automatically will change: descent, inheritance, interclan relations, the affairs of women, the education of children, the concept of kinship, the right to land, etc., -- so closely are all these items tied one to the other!

VI

177 562 As was natural to expect, acculturation has also affected the status of women considered as members of the consanguineous group. In the traditional organization, we can say that the preponderant status of the woman within the family is that of mother, who is, so to speak, the second head of the home, after the /247/ maternal uncle who guides and directs the activities of the cell. But this unilateral valuation is being transformed into a double one: that of wife-mother. We will clarify this point. We have seen in the pertinent chapters how a wife's value was determined exclusively by her position, which in turn was determined by the maternal clan to which she belonged. This valuation was materially shown by the high or low payment which a man decided to pay for her on taking her for his wife, in accordance with her clan position. Within the man's clan, relations with the woman were limited to the mutual help given to her husband for her purchase price and their assistance in the preparatory ceremonies of the marriage. But there was no link that tied them to her or to her children, as a consequence of uterine descent. But at the present time the presence of the wife of one of the male members of the clan is taken into account since she now fulfills certain functions which permit her relative incorporation into the clan, or at least into the small family of the husband. On his part, the man has changed his position with regard to her by not looking on her simply as a biological being, but as a companion. For the same reason the status of maternal aunt,

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177 562 in relation to her sister's children, has been weakened in view of the intervention of the paternal aunts, previously unrecognized in relation to their nephews and nieces in the masculine line.

Women, considered simply as a social component, have acquired a higher position owing to the cultural changes that have affected the community due to their contacts with other civilizations. The most important advance, perhaps, is the relative liberalizing of clan rules in their relation to marriage, as the woman does not submit so voluntarily to the husband that her maternal relatives pick for her, but has sufficient strength of will, backed up by actions which are happening with ever greater frequency, to choose her man herself even though this may mean for her the breaking off of all ties which link her to family and clan organization. Furthermore, she acquires with the white marriage institution legal powers to combat polygamy.

VII

654 Having outlined the various influences of acculturation on the individual, on society, and on Guajiro culture, and having sketched in this study the life cycle of the individual and some of the most characteristic social institutions of the community, we can now refer in a general way to the conformation of the status of the native in its different aspects. /348/

The points of reference of individual status of an inhabitant of La Guajira may be summarized as follows:

1. Membership through blood in a powerful clan, and within it being the son of a woman of high position, who is a first wife (remember the presence of polygamy and its conflicts). This implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth represented by:

a) Numerous heads of livestock, preferably cows and horses.

b) Family jewels set with *tuma*, the traditional stone; possession of ancient, solid gold or silver idols.

/*348 cont.*/

c) Control of both agricultural and pasture lands of first quality.

d) Access to wells with constant supplies of water for watering the livestock and for domestic needs.

e) Possession of numerous bond servants and slaves, who will free the women of the clan from domestic duties and provide the men with physical pleasure and a source of economic exploitation.

f) Commercial activities.

g) Holding government posts in the national official bureaucracy.

The economic solvency of the clan allows both the individual member and the family adequately to maintain its prestige in society.

With reference to the individual, because of the opportunity to have:

Expensive clothing for all occasions in accordance with the new patterns introduced by acculturation.

Modern weapons, also a new element in his culture, (guns, rifles, carbines, etc.) and poisoned and magic arrows of great value because of the supernatural powers they have and because they imply the sacrifice of children (Cf. *Aspectos de la Magia en La Guajira*) by Roberto Pineda Giraldo, *Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional*, Vol. III, Part 1, 1947. Bogotá, 1950).

Magic charms, especially those that are related to obtaining riches and love, prestige and affection, and /success in/ war. /*349*/

Numerous submissive wives, the first, who is the one who represents him socially, being of high standing.

Utensils and personal effects in accordance with his rank and with /the standards introduced by/ acculturation.

Thoroughbred horses and luxuriously adorned gear and trapping.

/349 cont./

554 With reference to the family, because it permits it as a unit to comply with the commitments it has contracted with each one of its members in particular and with society in general, as for example:

To give financial aid to its members or their friends in the outstanding moments of their lives, as for instance, in the case of a first marriage.

To entertain friends at obligatory social festivities with corresponding ostentation.

To attend to guests who visit the home in accordance with the family rank and that of the visitor, and with the idea of more than reciprocating previous hospitality received.

To be able to pay rapidly and satisfactorily any agreed-upon payment arranged with another group for the violation of the regimen for personal safety or collective stability, on the part of one of its members.

To fulfill adequately the magic sacrifices of propitiation and prevention when this is required either for the violation of a taboo or to forestall the effects of dreams, etc.

B. Numerical strength of the clan in male members of economic solvency and social prestige.

The aspects expressed in paragraphs A and B are extremely important for the individual in the family and in society.

In the family group, because with these advantages he will enjoy respect and a distinguished position among his kin which will automatically make him the head of the family.

In society, because he will receive indemnity rapidly and effectively when a violation of the regimen for individual security or collective stability has injured him directly or indirectly, and because it allows for the submission to his will of family or clan groups other than his own, who will recognize him as their cacique and whose influence they will seek at times when they are in trouble or conflict.

The second large group of conditions which affect the individual status is made up of his personal qualities, which may be subdivided in the following manner:

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554 a) Physical qualities. Having a normal physical appearance, that is, conforming to the aesthetic ideal of the group; lack of defects or deformities, such as the lack of a limb or an eye, presence of visible scars, especially on the face, etc., and to be physically strong.

b) Psychic and cultural qualities. Among these qualities the following should be pointed out: 1. Capacity to bear fatigue. 2. Resistance to hunger during times of scarcity; ability to withstand prolonged thirst. 3. Cruel in reprisal. Inflexible in decisions. 4. Vindictive. 5. Spiteful. 6. Proud. 7. Fearless. 8. Introverted as much as possible. 9. Hospitable and generous. 10. Sexually insatiable. 11. A good drinker. 12. A skillful shot. 13. Possession of a life record of numerous wartime and amorous adventures. 14. A good rider. 15. Never having violated the regimen for social stability by murder or robbery. 16. Possession of a perfect understanding of the native language and bilingualism, with oratorical qualities which increases his capacity to convince others in cases when this may be necessary. 17. A clever versifier.

c) Within the division of labor to be able to fill some of the following offices: 1. Shaman. 2. Arbitrator or cacique. 3. Skillful and rich herdsman. 4. Accomplished hunter and fisherman. 5. Good harness maker. 6. Trader. 7. Public employee.

554
562 As to feminine status we can state that it has the same essential points of reference with certain variations due to her sex, which we shall briefly enumerate:

1. Membership by consanguineous ties in a powerful clan with the same characteristics as for the man, which implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth to maintain personal prestige represented by:

- a) Abundant and costly ornaments.
- b) Expensive clothes and articles of personal use.
- c) Possession of charms, especially those for love.
- d) Numerous staff, free or otherwise.

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554 e) The services of paid wet nurses to feed her children.

562 f) Good horses with the corresponding ostentations harness. /*251*/

g) Her own dwelling apart from that of her husband's other wives.

h) Costly outfit and dowry /on marriage/.

In her relations with her family and with society:

A free and protected childhood, that is, no material obligations to carry out until the prepubertal period.

Rites of passage in accordance with the strictest norms.

Being bought as a first wife with cows and in one payment, at a higher or equal price to that paid for her female ancestors.

Being able to give to her sons /and daughters, *hijos*/ and nephews /and nieces, *sobrinos*/ costly jewels when they are about to be married or when they have to compensate someone for an injury inflicted.

To be in a position to send her children to study at *civilizado* centers.

And all the other /items/ we have seen in the case of men.

B. As in the case of the man, her clan should include numerous males of socio-economic prestige.

Aspects A and B are most important for her both in the family group and in society in the following manner:

In the family group, by enjoying respect and acquiring an outstanding position, which converts her also into the first woman of the family.

In society, by likewise enjoying the respect of the community, by not /becoming involved in the/ violating the code of personal security as it refers to acts of sexual aggression against herself, her female relatives, or her female slaves and bond servants. Besides, by occupying the position of first wife in the marriage and being able to intervene as an arbitrator in interclan disputes, and being able to do her part, as head of the household, in cases of *putchi* /clan war/.

2. *Personal qualities*:

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554 562 a) Physical. As in the case of the man, to have a physique in accord with /the ideals of/ cultural patterns and without outstanding physical defects.

To be sexually attractive.

To be a virgin at marriage.

b) Psychic and cultural qualities. 1. Reserved. 2. Faithful to cultural patterns. 3. Prudent. 4. Respectful.
5. Hospitable and generous. 6. Faithful wife. /252/
7. Sisterly with her co-wives. 8. Good manager of the home.
9. Affectionate mother. 10. Capable of economic independence.
11. Mastery of the language.

c) Within the framework of the division of labor: to be a shaman or diviner; to have a knowledge of magic, particularly in the making of charms; good midwife, dressmaker, potter, herbalist, or competent maid.

VIII

554 A violation, in active or passive form, of the system of law and order by persons who are unable to pay a satisfactory indemnity for the infraction leads to their being given a special extrasocial status with very clear characteristics. They occupy the lowest place on the social scale. They are the bond servants and slaves whose general characteristics, as we have seen in the chapters referring to them, are:

Lack of family ties, since their consanguineous units have been broken up by their defeat in war as punishment for breaking the cultural rules connected with law and order.

As a consequence, lack of economic backing.

Lack of territorial connections, the land of their consanguineous unit having been taken over by the victors.

Loss of the position of being free, becoming chattel over whom their owners have the right of usufruct and abuse.

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554 626 In addition to bond servants and slaves who at any rate are still part of the Guajiro social conglomerate in their special status, there exist those outside society who have got into this situation as a consequence of breaking of the regimen for social stability, security, but who besides not having paid the indemnity required for their delict are cast out of the community because their clan group refuses to admit any responsibility for the crime, by which act they are excluded from the community and have to flee and go into exile. This appears to have been the case with the Kusina Indians, who have already definitely disappeared, due to the exterminating expeditions that have been launched against them by all the consanguineous Guajiro groups and by whites. They were a group of Indians ostracized for delicts committed, who had no family backing and who gathered together to live by robbery and murder of other Indians and the whites who lived in the neighborhood of their hideouts in the Sierra de los Kosina. /253/

IX

554 548 Prostitutes also can be classified among those of lowest feminine status, as their conduct is not in accord with the female cultural patterns for women in the community, which practically treats them as outcasts. Although they may enjoy a measure of individual prestige due to the satisfactions they give, they attract to themselves the contempt of society as they are constantly violating culture patterns. They are evaluated in two ways, but primarily are classified as despicable beings, violators of cultural patterns.

Nevertheless, during the summers, which are the periods of scarcity and misery, their conduct finds, if not approbation, at least excuse among their relatives, who see in their way of life a means of income which assists in part to supply the most basic necessities of life. Furthermore, with the change in ideas

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554 548 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage, there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

X

554 562 886 We should note here the important fact that the functions ascribed to the working Goajiro woman no longer count when she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heirs of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

554 769 775 The active presence of an individual in Goajiro society is not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /554/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life: the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

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554 769 775 His functions keep on being carried out by means of intermediaries, as happens in the case of the piache, since the shaman, or medicine man, is nothing more than an intermediary between society and the world of the spirits; his illumination is determined by the action of famous dead shamans who are reincarnated, one might say, in the living one and determine many of the actions of the community, especially those with reference to Illness and to Death. In other words, the shaman in his life is not guided by his own personality but rather by that of the shamans who have deigned to come down to him to indicate the functions that he must comply with, the rules that he must observe, and, in short, all the indispensable acts of his profession. The spiritual direction of the group is thus in the hands of the dead, who continue to look after their group in a more effective manner than when they were alive.

The gradation of status which we have seen in Guajiro society in previous paragraphs is also followed in the world of the dead, in which murderers, for example, occupy their same condition of outlaws, as also do suicides; they do not wander about freely as the other spirits do but are condemned to crawl face downward along the ground. And, if while in life they were a threat to the regimen for personal security or collective stability, they are also so after dying; from this develops the series of preventive practices relative to these spirits.

XII

554 558 Status is susceptible to modifications both upward and downward. The causes of ascent are implicit in the conditions referred to, which as they are reached one by one confer on the individual an increase in his prestige, or keep it maintained. Among the sources of descent we can enumerate the following as the principal ones: a) the scarcity of male members for some reason or other in the clan unit or in the small family

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554 group, which implies in fact a lack of social backing; b) economic losses which prevent their maintaining their clan or
558 family rank and, therefore, their individual prestige. c) the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability which implicitly carries /255/ with it the lowering of status, because when a group which has suffered considerable losses in number as well as in capital commits a punishable act against an individual of a superior clan, it becomes liable, not to the legal negotiation for indemnity but to extermination as a free unit, because the offended group, being superior, will not deal with the offenders on a legal basis. Furthermore, if the infraction wrongs a group weakened in its economy and in the number of its male members, the indemnity is not governed by legality but rests on the individual judgment of the powerful offender, in conflict with whom the offended one cannot put up sufficient coercive force to insist on an adequate indemnity.

671 This phenomenon is due to a clear and precise fact within the social mesh that holds the clans together in La Guajira:
627 questions of law are applicable only when the clan groups who are challenging each other are equally equipped in economic strength and in fighting men. It is only then that the legal action of the arbitrators can be brought into play to negotiate an arrangement equitable to both sides. Law, therefore, is regulated by equality of strength. But once this equilibrium is broken, law no longer exists as an institution if it is contrary to the will of the /stronger/ injured side, which will impose the indemnity by means of its strength and according to its personal ambition, sacrificing the offender both socially and economically, or when the injury has been inflicted on a weaker group, allowing the aggressive action to go unpunished.